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Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-95-056 *23 March 1995*

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ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 23 Mar

LD2303065395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0636 GMT 23 Mar 95

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Moscow-based Russian newspapers in their Thursday editions give prominence to the recently concluded visit of Russia's First Vice-Premier Oleg Soskovets to Kiev, his talks with Ukrainian leaders and the documents signed there. And this is not fortuitous. The vice-premier's trip, which was made on the eve of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's expected visit to Kiev and which surprisingly coincided with the Ukrainian parliament measures with regard to Crimean institutions of power, has given rise to a rather keen discussion in the press.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, commenting on the Russian vice-premier'strip, writes that "it is already evident that even if Yeltsin will not visit Kiev (Soskovets mentioned yet another 'exact' date for the president's visit), it will not become the culmination point in Russo-Ukrainian relations any longer".

The newspaper's opinion is that "the present administration has apparently decided that one should not seek to attain boiling-point in relations with Kiev and that it is enough to put the pot on a hotplate set to low temperature.

"Soskovets turned out to be the brilliant master at the 'warm pot diplomacy'. His latest trips to Kiev invariably ended at any rate with real, if not effective, achievements and the signing of documents. The last one even ended with a solution to one of the most difficult problems—a rescheduling of Ukraine's huge debt to Russia".

"It may well happen that precisely such tactics will turn out to be the most resultative in bilateral relations".

The newspaper believes that the "permanent negotiating process", which has apparently become the main content of the Ukrainian-Russian dialogue, "is much more important than a new date for Boris Yeltsin's repeatedly postponed visit".

"Yeltsin's visit may be postponed in future as well—Soskovets left Kiev without finding a final solution to the most difficult and senseless issue in bilateral relations—the Black Sea Fleet porblem".

IZVESTIA on U.S. President Bill Clinton's forthcoming visit to Moscow.

As is known, the U.S. President is expected to arrive precisely on the days of the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the Great Patriotic War.

The newspaper writes that "there is a sphere which is of importance to both partners. Having made important concessions concerning the NATO enlargement and a procedure for the memorable parade in the Red Square, Yeltsin has shown Clinton how important the visit is to him this time as well.

IZVESTIA states with confidence that "Clinton will pick up the tune. He will say that he has been a friend and counts on friendship in response. On the eve of election campaigns, the interests of the two leaders coincide in many respects. The American is interested in the success of market reforms in Russia in no lesser degree that the Russian. To him, a peaceful outcome of the Chechnya developments is an important argument in the mounting election-cammmpaign debate".

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA interviewed Russian Economics Minister Yevgeniy Yasin.

Highly appreciating the very fact of the endorsement of the 1995 budget by the State Duma, the minister emphasised that "financial stabilisation is far more important than the very fact of the adoption of the budget. It is so far difficult to say what state of affairs will be at the end of the year but we are already taking measures. At the recent enlarged meeting, the government considered a three-year programme for "reforms and the development of the Russian economy' which makes projections beyond the present day". Yasin believes that "this year's budget will be fulfilled better than the previous one."

The developments in Chechnya as if gradually recede into the background in today's central newspapers, just as on previous days. [sentence as received]

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) this time writes about the servicemen of Motorised Infantry Regiment 276 from the Ural Military District.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an article about Kuzbass Special- Purpose Police OMON who died during mine-clearing operations in Groznyy.

Almost all newspapers report the terrible crime—the nerve gas attack on the Tokyo subway.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA is of the opinion that "it may be that the Tokyoans were poisoned by the sect whose branch operates in Moscow."

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West's Concern over Moscow NATO Stance Viewed

MM2103142995 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 21 Mar 95 p 3

[Article by Manki Ponomarev: "EU Provides 'Side Table' for Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Two closely interconnected events have generated heightened attention in the European capitals. The first was the unofficial meeting of the EU countries' foreign ministers held at the end of last week in the French city of Carcassonne. The second was the concluding conference on the Pact on Stability in Europe which opened in Paris on Monday with the participation of representatives of 52 states.

Moscow's negative attitude toward plans for NATO's expansion to the East seems to have started seriously to worry Western politicians. Whereas until recently they were inclined to declare Russia's fears on this score devoid of any grounds, in Carcassonne essentially they had to admit that there are nonetheless real grounds for this. So the EU is not making a proposal that Moscow and NATO conclude a special treaty on security as soon as possible. Such a treaty (it is sometimes referred to as a charter), in the opinion of German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel, could contain clauses on the mechanism for consultations on all problems concerning security and a pledge of nonaggression toward each other.

In other words, it is a case of the Western countries' clearly expressed readiness to expand political cooperation with Russia. The idea is being voiced of creating a mechanism for regular consultations with Moscow not only in NATO but also in other bodies engaged with problems of security on the continent - the EU, the OSCE, the Council of Europe, and so forth. In the opinion of those taking part in the Carcassonne meeting this could help Russia to have no fear of isolation if NATO is expanded.

Well, the EU proposals contain a rational kernel. Russia must restore its dialogue with NATO broken off at the end of last year, and its inclusion in the mechanism of consultations on security problems could promote that. But the German newspaper DER TAGESSPIEGEL believes that in Carcassonne the Russians had a place reserved for them only at NATO's side table—the role of a mere observer without the right to vote. In other words, we will know what the Atlanticists decide but we will not be able to influence their decisions.

The EU proposals put forward last week should be developed at the Paris conference on the Pact on Stability in Europe. The idea of elaborating this pact comes from French Prime Minister Edouard Balladur. It is to be a political declaration and appendix in the form of bilateral agreements signed by a number of East European countries whose observance will then be monitored by the OSCE. The three Russian-Latvian and two Russian-Lithuanian agreements and also agreements with Poland and Slovakia will become part of the pact.

Thus one more mechanism is being created for overcoming contradictions between several neighbors that are former Warsaw Pact members. And in the opinion of the initiators of the Pact on Stability in Europe that could ease the acuteness of the problem of NATO's expansion to the East.

Russia Facing 'Dilemma' Over NATO Eastward Expansion

MM2103123795 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 95 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Peresada under the "Correspondents Comment" rubric: "What NATO Promises Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Brussels, 20 Mar—Belgium's LE SOIR has described as U.S.-European pressure on Moscow the West's sharply increased diplomatic activity aimed at tying Russia to an "acceptable" formula for relations with NATO.

This assessment is not accidental. The point is that Washington and its West European partners recently launched a concerted action in this area. It is filled with common substance and has a common aim, colored in propaganda tones of concern for "stability in Europe": in exchange for raising the level of and expanding Russia's ties with NATO (naturally, with Russia remaining immutably outside the alliance), to remove Moscow's objections to the upcoming inclusion of East European states within NATO.

The impulse comes from the other side of the ocean. The idea of establishing a "special relationship" between NATO and Russia was last week made the basis of a letter from U.S. President Clinton, which, so the press reports, is to be sent to President Yeltsin any time now. On this basis, it is assumed, Moscow will be able both to subscribe in practice to the "Partnership for Peace" program, from which it abstained literally at the last moment, and to perceive more calmly NATO's future eastward advance.

In the opinion of commentators, they are counting not only on the fact that the "special relationship" formula might seem like a definite concession to Russia. It is also important that the moment chosen to advance this initiative is such that it enables the West to exert pressure on the Kremlin. It is impossible not to see, LE SOIR writes, that Moscow now has a very great interest in smoothing over the complications that have arisen with the West because of the intervention in Chechnya, while Boris Yeltsin, in particular, is interested in President Clinton giving him public support by agreeing to attend the festivities in Moscow marking the 50th anniversary of victory.

Meanwhile, on this side of the ocean the substance of the new formula for ties with NATO, which Russia is being promised, has been revealed somewhat. This was done by the foreign ministers of 15 EU countries conferring in

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the French city of Carcassonne. In the opinion of observers here, the conference proposed in unison to Washington the establishment of a special relationship between the North Atlantic Alliance and Russia on the basis of either a charter or a treaty. According to Belgian Foreign Minister F. Vandenbroucke, it is intended that this document should define a mechanism for regular political consultations, emphasize the exclusively defensive nature of NATO, and contain a mutual nonaggression pledge.

Thus, under conditions of the planned physical approach of NATO's operating zone closer to the former borders of the USSR and, accordingly, those of Russia, only standard treaty guarantees await us. Is this a lot, if you consider that, given such an approach, the need arises to seriously build up the system of the country's defense capability? Is it little, if you consider that NATO's eastward advance has been decided upon and is essentially already being implemented, whether or not weakened Russia wants it? This is a difficult dilemma, which the country has been made to face by those people in Moscow whose responsibility it was to ensure that not only this dilemma but also the very question of NATO's expansion did not exist.

Yeltsin, Kozyrev Seen Differing on NATO Expansion

MK2203093095 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 18, 19-26 Mar 95 (Signed to press 21 Mar) p 7

[Report by Aleksey Pushkov, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI deputy editor-in-chief, under the "In the World" rubric: "When a Minister Refutes the President"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The picture of a complete idyll between the president and the Foreign Ministry painted by Russian publications after Boris Yeltsin's recent address to the ministry's top echelon does not square with reality. It has transpired from reliable sources that the president took the Foreign Ministry leadership to task for "unsatisfactory" information on the situation in CIS countries, passivity in the protection of the rights of Russian-speakers in the near abroad, and particularly for "gross slip-ups" and self-will in policy with regard to NATO. The prehistory of the presidential criticism is as follows. During talks in Washington at the end of February the Russian side put forward two conditions that could made NATO's expansion acceptable for it. First, nuclear weapons may not be stationed on the territory of would-be bloc members. Second, groups of forces of NATO's Western member states may not be deployed there. Hence the West concluded that Russia is ready to put up with the bloc's expansion.

This is what caused Yeltsin's displeasure. He reminded Kozyrev that "no one has canceled a line announced by the president," which consists of categorical disagreement with NATO's expansion. Saying that Kozyrev "was too hasty," the president suggested that the minister renounce the approach he adopted during the talks. That our foreign policy is effectively unpredictable is well known. But now this borders on a scandal: Our stance in negotiations on the crucial problem of our relations with the West has not been approved by the head of state! It turns out that Yeltsin tells the West one thing, while Kozyrev says another.

Demands put forward by the Foreign Ministry also elicit bewilderment. The likelihood of stationing the bloc's nuclear weapons and armed forces in East Europe countries is close to zero all the same. The very idea of renouncing this deployment did not originate with Russian diplomats at all. It was written by Zbigniew Brzezinski, for instance, in FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

It is completely unclear why one needs to make haste with the discussion of terms of the bloc's expansion now that NATO has just started mulling conditions for admitting new members. The idea of expanding the bloc eastward is one thing, while its practical implementation is quite another. Even at this stage the emotional consensus in favor of NATO's expansion is beginning to crumble. In the United States, where sentiments of savings first are dominant, many people dislike the costs the bloc's expansion entails. The new Republican majority in Congress has so far preferred not to give serious thought to the fact that the inclusion of Poland or Slovakia in the bloc will involve an automatic extension of U.S. nuclear guarantees to these countries. Meanwhile, Congress may face a logical question: Why should the United States risk jeopardizing its security to such an extent?

West Europe, too, is not particularly eager to foot the bill for the admission of new, not very rich members to the bloc. Poland has already halved its budget appropriations for the "Partnership for Peace" program. The Czech Republic has admitted that over the next seven years it will be unable to embark on the reequipment of its Armed Forces. It is not by chance that the debate on NATO's future has taken on a new intensity in the West as December 1995 approaches, when Brussels is due to make a decision on the matter.

The West is least of all interested in turning Russia into an enemy. Hence the desire to resolve what is virtually an insoluble problem: how to strengthen the bloc and not to fall out with Moscow at the same time. Moving to discuss specific conditions at a time when a final decision is still up in the air means to agree with it beforehand. Western diplomats in Moscow are wondering: We are bending over backward to advise our capitals of your concern, but they tell us in response: What are you talking about, Kozyrev has been assuring us that Moscow is ready to agree to the bloc's expansion. "I do not know whether there is more haste or stupidity to this," one such diplomat said, losing his temper.

Russian diplomacy's objective should not be the blessing of NATO's intentions; it should strive to buy time so that

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they in the West will realize the actual cost of expansion and revise their plans. One should not ratchet up tensions, but nor should one help NATO make a decision that is inherently disadvantageous for Russia.

NATO Expansion Seen as Threat to Stability

MM2103110895 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Mar 95 p 3

[Report by Vladimir Bolshakov under "Correspondents Comment" rubric: "Terms Dictated to Kremlin Incumbents"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Paris, 20 Mar—The final conference on a European stability pact opened in Paris today. The idea of this pact was advanced by the government of French Prime Minister E. Balladur approximately a year ago. It was conditioned by a desire to settle the long-standing problems of ethnic minorities, like the Hungarian minority, for example—problems left over from the time of World War I—as well as by the fact that there are now far more such problems in postcommunist Europe.

The French prime minister's idea was supported by practically all European states, particularly those formed as a result of the breakup of the Warsaw Pact and the Soviet Union.

Of course, history is yet to call to account those who wrecked the socialist community and the Soviet Union in particular. But for now the flags of 52 states are flying over the UNESCO building in Paris, symbolizing the new European unity and the peoples' reluctance to resolve new and long-standing disputes by force. An agreement on good-neighborliness between Slovakia and Hungary was signed yesterday. Other agreements are expected to be signed.

On the one hand, the process of Europe's peaceful integration and the settling of its long-standing disputes and litigation seems to be under way. On the other.... On the other hand, alarming things are being perpetrated. In the French city of Carcassonne yesterday the foreign ministers of 15 EU countries were once again discussing problems of the NATO bloc's expansion via the admission of former socialist countries. Russia is known to object to this. One of the strongest demarches in this regard was the Russian Federation's refusal last December to enter into cooperation with NATO within the framework of the "Partnership for Peace" program. Nevertheless, the idea of once again dividing Europe into opposing military camps has evidently not been abandoned. Preparations to expand NATO are being accelerated. The question has arisen—how to help the present Kremlin incumbents "save face" and make the Atlantic bloc acceptable to them in its new form?

The Carcassonne conference discussed a number of options, but above all an initiative by French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe, who proposed signing either a charter, or a treaty, or a "nonaggression pact" between NATO and the Russian Federation, but only after the start of NATO's actual expansion. According to Juppe's idea, this will not only allay Moscow's fears but will also help to keep Russia on the path of reforms, regardless of what might happen in this country as a result of the parliamentary and presidential elections.

The question of NATO's expansion and of the "guarantees" which the United States will give Russia in this connection will be discussed between Kozyrev and Christopher in Geneva next Wednesday. But, whatever is decided there, one thing is clear: Stability in Europe cannot be ensured by building up a military bloc controlled by the United States on Russia's borders.

If NATO, even in its present, not yet expanded form, is constantly dictating its terms to Russia, disregarding its national interests, and even encouraging separatists of various kinds, you can easily imagine how much this diktat will increase if NATO is joined by former Warsaw Pact members with their armies trained and instructed by the Soviet Union.

Kozyrev Arrives For Geneva Talks With Christopher

LD2203170495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1617 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Konstantin Pribytkov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Geneva, 22 Mar—Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev today arrived from Paris to Geneva where he will hold bilateral talks with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher. The agenda of the talks will be packed. Among main subjects are preparations for the Russian-U.S. summit in May, the situation in the world's hotspots, and a wide range of bilateral problems. The heads of the foreign policy departments of the two great powers will continue the tallks they began during the previous round of talks in Geneva in January, on the reform of the European security structures. The conference on stability in Europe which has just ended in Paris has given new food for thought and for the exchange of opinions.

The meetings will be held at the Russian and U.S. missions. There will be one-to-one meetings, as well as meetings between the delegations. The results of the talks will be summed by Kozyrev and Christopher at a joint news conference on Thursday evening.

Discuss Summit Preparations

LD2303102195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1008 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Konstantin Pribytkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva March 23 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S.

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Secretary of State Warren Christopher have begun full-scale discussions of preparations for a Russian-U.S. summit. They met at the Russian permanent mission at the U.N. office in Europe on Thursday morning to discuss an agenda for the forthcoming summit talks which are due to be held in May.

It has become known to an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the U.S. secretary of state, in an interview with the group of journalists who are accompanying him, reaffirmed President Bill Clinton's decision to arrive in Moscow to attend the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the victory over fascism.

The President is aware that if we want a strong relationship with the Russian Government, it must be, in the final analysis, a relationship with the Russian people, Christopher said.

On the strength of reports received from the U.S. Embassy and other sources, the President came to see for himself that the Russians attach great symbolical significance to the anniversary. Over the history of the past 70 years, this is one of positive events on which the attention of the Russian people is focused, he said.

The U.S. secretary of state noted "positive results" in the two countries' relations in recent years but did not deny the existence of differences. He said he sees his task in coping with the divergences of opinion, in emphasising matters on which the two sides agree, and trying to find areas of accord and overcoming differences as far as possible.

Christopher said he considered every programme of assistance and arrived at a conclusion that to limit them would mean damaging U.S. interests. This would do harm to the U.S. at least to the same extent or even more than to the Russians, he added.

Kozyrev: No Insurmountable Obstacles in Relations

LD2203175095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1649 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Konstantin Pribytkov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Geneva, 22 Mar—"The main task of our meeting will be preparations for a Russian-American summit in Moscow," said Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on his arrival in Geneva today. He will hold two days of negotiations with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher.

The head of Russia's diplomacy qualified as "very important" the decision made by President Bill Clinton to come to Moscow in May to celebrate the 50th anniversary of Victory day. "We appreciate this decision", Kozyrev said. He recalled that the two countries were allies during World War II. "I am convinced that we are on the path to becoming allies in peace time as well," the minister said.

He added that Boris Yeltsin and Bill Clinton are in close contact and correspond with each other. In Geneva the heads of the two foreign policy departments will have to create "favorable conditions for the summit in Moscow."

Kozyrev said that "there are no insurmountable obstacles" between the two states. "Although there are problems on our joint path, the path itself is clear: To develop partnership and relations as allies, in accordance with agreements reached by our presidents," the minister underscored.

Asked whether specific problems, such as U.S. objections to the Russian-Iranian nuclear power engineering contract, will be discussed in Geneva, Kozyrev said: "There are a whole range of questions which we are debating in an open and constructive manner. No one is setting any artificial conditions or attempting to exercise political influence over each other. I do not foresee any questions that cannot be discussed between the secretary of state and me. After all, this is what partnership is all about."

The first tete-a-tete meeting between Kozyrev and Christopher is expected to take place this evening at the Russian permanent mission in the UN European headquarters. On Thursday full-scale discussions will take place at the Russian and American missions.

Christopher on Nuclear Aid to Iran

LD2303063995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0631 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Konstantin Pribytkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva March 23 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher hinted that Russian plans to help Iran build nuclear reactors may affect the cooperation between Moscow and the G-7 group of industrialised countries.

Speaking in Geneva he did not conceal that Washington opposes the Russian plans of building nuclear power plants in Iran and said it was mostly in the interests of Russia itself to cancel the contract.

It is in the interests of Russia to refrain from developing nuclear and other mass destruction weapons in Iran, Christopher said as quoted by the U.S. mission in Geneva on Thursday.

He also hinted that cooperation between Moscow and Tehran in atomic energy may affect Russian relations with the G-7. "None of the seven countries is engaged in nuclear cooperation with Iran", Christopher was quoted as saying.

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However, the U.S. secretary of state made it clear that the Iranian deal would hardly aggravate relations with Russia. He stressed that his country is interested in supporting Russian reforms and reformists. The relations are too important to be dependent only on one problem, he was quoted as saying.

Kozyrev, Christopher To Continue Talks

LD2303093095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0746 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Konstantin Pribytkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva March 23 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher are to carry on their full-scale talks here on Thursday [23 March].

Following their one-on-one working meeting on Wednesday, they are planning to devote about five hours to discussions on key international problems and most acute bilateral ones.

On the eve of today's round of the talks, Kozyrev and Christopher expressed readiness to discuss the broadest range of matters such as, in particular, the role of NATO, cooperation between Russia and Iran in the nuclear power industry, and the situation in the former Yugoslavia.

The dialogue is expected to become an important component of preparations for a Russian-U.S summit which is scheduled for may. In view of U.S. President Bill Clinton's announced intention to visit Moscow, the participants in the Geneva meetings are to get agreement on an agenda for the summit talks.

The U.S. is utterly interested in a continuation of the dialogue with Russia and support for its reforms and reformers, Christopher said in Geneva. His opinion is that Russian-U.S. relationship is too important to be made dependent on any one problem.

It follows from Christopher's remarks, which were made available to ITAR-TASS on Thursday that during the talks (which began on Wednesday) with Kozyrev, he intends to focus attention on the role of NATO. He believes that it is possible to overcome the divergence of positions if simultaneously with the enlargement of the North Atlantic alliance, a formula of relationship between NATO and Russia is devised.

Christopher did not conceal that Washington is against the deliveries of Russian reactors to Iran for nuclear power stations. The Americans believe that renouncing such contracts would be primarily in the interests of Russia itself. After all, Iran is much closer to Russia than it is to the U.S., Christopher said, adding that it is in Russia's interest to prevent the development of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction by Iran. The U.S. secretary of state made it clear that cooperation between Moscow and Tehran in the nuclear field may complicate Russia's participation in Group-of-Seven activities.

Kozyrev and Christopher had a working meeting in Geneva on Wednesday. They are carrying on talks, which they began here in January, on the transformation of European security structures, the role of NATO in particular.

It has become known to ITAR-TASS from diplomatic sources that the U.S. delegation includes not only Thomas Pickering, the U.S. ambassador in Moscow, and the State Department's high officials but representatives of military structures as well. So, an exchange of view will apparently cover disarmament issues, too.

PRAVDA Hits Claimed Concessions to U.S.

MM2303125395 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Mar 95 p 3

[Article by Stanislav Menshikov: "The Price of a Smile. U.S. Press on Relations Between Washington and Moscow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Rotterdam—Strange things are happening on the diplomatic highway between Moscow and Washington. Just recently the White House, through Secretary of State Christopher and other figures, let it be known that the time has come to seek a replacement for Yeltsin. There was increasingly insistent talk of the rebirth of Russian imperialism and Yeltsin's public threats to respond to the expansion of NATO with a "cold peace." In these conditions, they assured us, there can be no question of the long-promised IMF loan, and Clinton himself will not be able to go to Moscow for the Victory Day celebrations because a demonstration of Russian military strength would offend the U.S. President's peace-loving feelings.

Suddenly things changed dramatically. IMF Director Camdessus appeared fleetingly in Moscow and signed a loan agreement. Yeltsin hurriedly summoned foreign correspondents to the Kremlin and explained to them how highly he appreciates Clinton's tactical noninterference in the Chechen conflict. Alluding to the planned exchange of letters between the two presidents, he promised to respect "friend Bill's" feelings and keep the military hardware far away from Red Square on 9 May. Generally speaking he promised to do whatever they say short of renaming Red Square White Square or Stars and Stripes Square. In reply, Bill smiled condescendingly from across the ocean and promised to attend the celebrations in Moscow.

So what happened? Whither such benevolence? The U.S. press has half lifted the veil on the background to these events. WASHINGTON POST observer Steven Rosenfeld, citing the Russian ambassador to the United States, claims that there has been a sudden rapprochement of the sides' positions on the expansion of NATO, which, as he candidly put it, is "the main lever of U.S. influence in

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Europe." The mutual understanding which has emerged will enable Washington "to safeguard the achievement of democracy in Europe since the Cold War times," that is, to advance far to the east without annoying the "Russian bear" but at the same time depriving it of its last claims to a "large and worrying zone of influence." This, as Rosenfeld joyfully adds, demonstrates the Russian diplomats' growing "maturity": "Boris Yeltsin has submitted proposals which can enable his country to sanction the eastward expansion of the Atlantic community. The new proposals go beyond the framework of the old idea of a special relationship between NATO and Russia." Russian Ambassador Yuliy Voronin is now speaking about a mutual nonaggression pact between that bloc and Moscow. Moscow is also proposing to limit the siting of nuclear weapons and Western forces in Central Europe and is awaiting confirmation that Russia will also ultimately be able to join." [closing quotation marks as published] In exchange for such "guarantees," Russia will be "prepared for the admission into NATO not just of the comparatively straightforward candidates—Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic—but also for more difficult cases, including Ukraine and the Baltic states."

Rosenfeld's information is clearly at variance with Yeltsin's speeches in which he said that he remains opposed to NATO's expansion and that the East European countries gravitate more toward Russia than the West. Time will tell who is right here, who is playing tricks, and who is indulging in illusions. But there is hardly any doubt that a plot is being hatched which threatens to extend NATO's border as far as Narva and Brest, perhaps even to Kharkov and Rostov. Maybe the crafty Foreign ministry is testing the water and the Kremlin has no idea what is going on? One can only guess about that for the moment. Recently the Western press quoted General Mikhail Kolesnikov, chief of the Russian General Staff, who said that NATO is a "pointless organization" and that it is not only dangerous but illegal [nezakonno] for East Europe to join it. Clearly, people in Moscow see the Atlantic bloc through different eyes depending on where they sit—on Smolensk Square [Foreign Ministry] or Arbat Square [Defense Ministry].

Mention of the "nonaggresion pact" which it is proposed to conclude between NATO and Russia brings to mind the Soviet-German treaty solemnly signed in the Kremlin in August 1939 and violated 22 months later. If our diplomatic "maturity" consists in a readiness to trust in pieces of paper like this, such maturity is worse than any infantile disorder. Together with the reports on the readiness to cancel the military parade on Victory Day and other degrading gestures toward Washington, this looks very much as though our rulers are ready to trade Russia's national security for Bill's smile and the IMF's billions.

But the question is: Who needs Clinton in Moscow, and why? If the Kremlin thinks that his arrival will boost the rating of Yeltsin alone and no one else in the eyes of the future voters then it is most probably mistaken here. THE NEW YORK TIMES, for example, thinks otherwise. "When in Moscow," the newspaper writes, "Clinton could meet with reformers who have broken with Yeltsin, letting it be known that he does not support Yeltsin's authoritarian aspirations. He could remind the Russian Army that its duty is to defend democratic principles. He could advise Russian politicians and businessmen to speed up the transition to the market economy. All these things would demonstrate with the utmost clarity that Clinton has certainly not come to Moscow to support Yeltsin." Such are the "surprises" that the transatlantic partners could have in store. Can our president really not see something which is clear to the editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES? America's smile is quite far removed from love.

The IMF's 6 billion also needs to be looked into while there is still time. This money has been given to hold in reserve, not to spend. Those are the terms of the deal. The supply of goods in the country will not increase as a result of this. Officially these dollars enable the Russian Government to meet part of its budget outlays in rubles without resorting to Central Bank loans. However, the amount of rubles in circulation will not diminish because of that procedure—on the contrary, it will increase. Consequently, inflation will not ease despite the promises of Chubays, Chernomyrdin, and Yeltsin himself.

In taking a "standby credit" from the IMF the country has acquired another pig in a poke. The money has to be returned in five years' time. But there is a price to be paid now, and it includes the postponement of the military parade and agreement to NATO's expansion in exchange for another pig in a poke—the non- aggression pact—not to mention the shackling economic terms. Bill's smile will cost Russia dear!

Clinton Visit To Support Yeltsin

MK2203091895 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Mar 95 p 2

[Report by Mikhail Karpov under the "Russian Federation- USA" rubric: "A Signal From Overseas. Clinton Is To Visit Moscow—Hence, He Supports Yeltsin"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The game popularly known as "tug-of-war," which has been played by Moscow and Washington a bit too long, has finally finished, to Moscow's obvious satisfaction. It would be wrong to presume that the continuing war in Chechnya is the only argument of those who are against Clinton's participation in the festivities in the Russian capital. He has certainly been advised that American veterans would not forgive him his absence from Washington at the moment the country pays homage to them for their victory. And Clinton—being mindful of some of his own biographical facts—has traditionally treated this cohort of U.S. citizens with particular piety. Therefore, it was announced that on 8 May, before going to Moscow, he will take part in the ceremonial commemoration at Arlington cemetery.

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The U.S. President, without doubt, must have been warned that his refusal to participate in celebrations held in Paris and London would be linked by his opponents, in the former case, with the recent espionage scandal; in the latter, with the visit of Gerry Adams, the Sinn Fein leader, to the United States. Both reasons provide sufficient grounds to claim that U.S. relations with France and Great Britain have become somewhat tense.

And, nonetheless, Clinton is going to Moscow. In so doing, he gives Yeltsin an unambiguous signal that Yeltsin's assurance of his adherence to a political solution of the Chechen conflict is not to be questioned. At the same time, it means that the United States continues to regard him as the main guarantor for the development of democracy in Russia. Other leaders of the Western world—who have still been in indecision about their participation in the Moscow festivities—seem to have been shown a well-known sign: "Follow me!"

What Clinton intends to achieve by this move, in addition to the termination of the war in Chechnya, is quite transparent—to persuade Yeltsin that the eastward NATO expansion does not mean a threat to Russia, and that preparations for the SALT III [as published] treaty need to be started. He also intends to advise the Russian president that the West is expecting that his promise to hold elections at the designated time—both parliamentary and presidential—be fulfilled. Only this will give Clinton the trump cards when it comes to validating the correctness of his stance with respect to Yeltsin.

The signal from overseas allows to predict with a fair degree of certainty that, by the beginning of May, Russia will try to resolve the conflict in Chechnya peacefully in a way that would be definitive—rather than declarative, as it has been the case many times. As for the United States, it will try to make the process of the adoption of new members to NATO not unduly speedy. The talks between Andrey Kozyrev and Warren Christopher in Geneva, which are starting today, must further clarify the situation with respect to Clinton's visit

Japanese Foreign Ministry Protests Invasion of Air Space

LD2303111395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1051 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Nikitin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tokyo, 23 Mar—Japan today protested to Russia in connection with the violation of Japan's air space by a Russian military aircraft. The Japanese Foreign Ministry said that the incident took place this morning Tokyo time in the southern part of Hokkaido.

Yokohama Symposium Discusses Russia-Japan Peace Treaty

LD2003123995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1214 GMT 20 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Varlamov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tokyo March 20 TASS—Russian and Japanese experts met behind closed doors in Yokohama to discuss problems relating to the signing of a peace treaty between Moscow and Tokyo.

Representatives of the scholarly community and government structures of the two countries discussed a number of specific questions concerning the territorial issue, bilateral economic cooperation, and prospects for the realisation of the 1993 declaration, Director of the Russian Institute of the World Economy and International Relations Vladlen Martynov told ITAR-TASS today.

Martynov described as an achievement the fact that the two sides agreed that "the political and economic situation in Russia at present makes it very difficult for the country to speed up implementation of the Tokyo declaration".

Along with this, the symposium noted that there exists a number of directions "the development of which can provide a basis for the beginning of practical preparations, at the diplomatic level and implementation of provisions contained in this important bilateral document." These include visaless exchanges between the Russian southern Kuril Islands and Hokkaido, as well as the negotiations on cooperation in fisheries in the region.

The symposium also considered in detail economic ties between Russia and Japan which, according to experts, "are beginning to improve after an abrupt fall, although the process is in its earliest stages".

The Japanese agreed to the Russian stance proceeding from the assumption that the worsening of the trade and economic relations between the two countries had been caused not only by the crisis in the Russian economy but also by the wait-and-see tactics of the Japanese economic circles.

The idea of the need to step up the activity of the Japanese side in this respect was voiced by Japan Foreign Minister Yohei Kono at a meeting with the Russian delegation.

Russian, Japanese 'Experts' To Discuss Nuclear Waste

LD2303113595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1048 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The construction of plants to process liquid radioactive waste (LRW) of the Pacific fleet in the Far East is the subject of Russian and Japanese experts' talks that began here on Wednesday [22 March] and are to end on Friday.

A joint commission is headed by Nikolay Yegorov, Russian deputy minister of the nuclear energy and industry, and Koji Watanabe, the ambassador of Japan

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to Russia, a ministry spokesman has told ITAR- TASS. The course of the meeting and its results are to become known on Friday.

Following the discharge of liquid radioactive waste into the Sea of Japan in October 1993, efforts were put forth. Albeit slowly, to tackle the LRW disposal problem with the assistance of other countries. Japan agreed to finance the construction of LRW processing plants in the Far East. A tender for the best project to this effect has been announced. The two countries' experts are reviewing the outcome of the efforts.

Russia is virtually lacking plants to process LRW which previously were dumped into seas, maintain experts at the Russian Security Council's inter-agency Commission for Ecological Security.

Meanwhile, about 20,000 cubic meters of LRW, different in activity, radionuclide and salt composition, accumulate at naval bases every year. The construction of facilities started by the Navy in the 1960s to process solid radioactive waste and to purify liquid one was terminated. Work to build LRW processing plants has been put on a list of first-priority measures to ensure radiological safety but ministry experts entertain no hope that the measures will be financed from the budget.

Moscow Branch of Japanese Sect Denies Involvement

LD2203145595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1133 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vladimir Solntsev]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Moscow, 22 Mar—The Moscow branch of Aum Shinrikyo has flatly denied this Buddhist religious association's involvement in the recent gas attack in Tokyo, saying that members of the organization "were themselves the victims of exposure to nerve gas." The sect's address to the mass media, received today by ITAR-TASS, describes reports of Aum Shinrikyo's involvement in the terrorist action in the Tokyo underground as "unprecedentedly untrustworthy" and "insulting."

In an appeal to the people of Russia, sect leader Shoko Asahara accused the Japanese state authorities and mass media of "planning mass destruction of Aum Shinrikyo believers, presenting it as a mass suicide." "If you hear a report about suicide, you will know that we will have been killed, physically liquidated by the authorities," he said. [passage omitted]

The organization began its activities in Russia at the beginning of 1992. There are now six Aum Shinrikyo centers in Moscow. The ITAR-TASS correspondent was told by representatives of the sect that it also has centers in Moscow Oblast and in Vladikavkaz. Every evening an hour-long Aum Shinrikyo program is broadcast on the airwaves of Russian Mayak radio, and it used to have a TV program on Moscow 2x2 TV. The exact number of adherents in Russia is unknown, but a spokesman for the sect said its Moscow centers are attended by some 300 people a day, and the audiences change continuously. On joining Aum Shinrikyo one has to give all one's property to the sect and settle in a commune of adherents, where strict internal hierarchy and iron discipline are maintained.

The committee for saving the young from totalitarian sects is fighting against Aum Shinrikyo, accusing it of trying to deprive Russia of its cultural gene pool. A spokesman for the committee has told the ITAR-TASS correspondent that the sect was "trying to select young people with creative talent and sap their will." The Ostankino municipal court in Moscow is examining the committee's 20 billion ruble lawsuit against Aum Shinrikyo. A week ago the court ruled to sequester the organization's entire property, including all its bank accounts. Another court hearing, scheduled for today, has now been postponed till 27 March because Aum Shinrikyo's lawyer failed to turn up in court. The sect's main target audience are young people.

Sect Had Links With Khasbulatov, High Officials

LD2303085695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0820 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovnin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tokyo March 23 TASS—The Aum Shinrikyo (Sublime Truth) sect, which is suspected of mass killings, had close connections with influential people in Russia, from where it beams regular radio broadcasts to Japan. The broadcasts are prepared in Moscow and relayed via Vladivostok, informed sources have told ITAR-TASS here.

The latest broadcast on March 23 conveyed an address by sect leader Shioko Asahara, 40, who urged his followers to prepare for "se" [death without repentance]. Such advice caused shudders in Japan because it is exactly Aum members who are suspected of using nerve gas sarin in the attack on the Tokyo subway on March 20, in which ten people were killed and more than 600 hospitalised.

According to the Tokyo-based TBS television network, it was precisely in Russia that the sect obtained the gas analyser, which was found by police and which is used to determine toxic agents. One of Japanese weeklies has reported that the materials of the sect make mention that the sect activists in Russia visited military facilities. Rumours are circulating in Japan that the cultists "could obtain a sarin manufacture technology in Russia by using their connections."

In March 1992 the founder of the Aum Shinrikyo, Asahara, had met in Moscow with the then Parliament Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov who hailed "the lofty mission" of the Japanese sectarian.

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According to the KYODO TSUSHIN news agency, Asahara also had meetings with influential figures in the presidential administration and that his sect maintained contacts with "Russo-Japanese University."

Due to these connections, they gained access not only to the radio but also to Moscow television where until recently the Aum Shinrikyo had its own programme on one of TV channels.

Followers Told To Prepare for Death

LD2303071795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0629 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vasiliy Golovin]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tokyo, 23 Mar—The Supreme Truth Sect Aum Shinriyko, which is suspected of mass murder, has had close contacts with influential people in Russia, from where it broadcasts regularly to Japan. Well-informed sources in Tokyo told ITAR-TASS that these broadcasts are prepared in Moscow and rebroadcast via Vladivostok. During the last broadcast on 23 March, for instance, 40-year-old Shoko Asahara, the leader of the sect, called upon his followers to prepare "for death without repentance." [passage omitted]

Asahara, the founder of the Supreme Truth Sect Aum Shinriyko, met Ruslan Khasbulatov in Moscow in March 1992. The chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation welcomed the "noble mission" of the Japanese sect leader. [passage omitted]

Radio Stops Aum Shinrikyo Sect Broadcasts

LD2303094495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0845 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Scherban]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The major Moscow "Mayak" radio station stopped on Wednesday [22 March] to broadcast the programmes of the Russian branch of the Japanese religious "Aum Shinrikyo" sect which is suspected of staging a nerve-gas attack in Tokyo subway which took a toll of ten and poisoned several hundred people.

Anatoliy Tupikin, director general of the Central Broadcasting Company, told TASS on Thursday that the decision had been adopted because of the tragedy in Japan.

"Mayak" has been regularly broadcasting Aum reports since September 1, 1992 which daily cost the sect nearly 2,000 US dollars.

On Wednesday Japanese police found in the sect headquarters a big amount of chemicals which can be used to produce the sarin nerve-gas which is believed to have been used in the March 20 attack.

Mayak Chief Explains Decision To Stop Broadcasts

LD2303100595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0951 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—"We signed a treaty not with the devil, but with a religious organisation whose activities caused no concerns", Vladimir Povolyayev, director of the "Mayak" radio station told TASS on Thursday referring to the "Aum Shinrikyo" sect which is suspected of staging a nerve-gas attack in the Tokyo subway which took a toll of ten people and poisoned hundreds.

The "Mayak" has been daily airing the programmes of the Russian branch of the sect for two years and received 800 thousand dollars for that a year. Two 25-minute long programmes daily came out and were retransmitted to Japan from the Far Eastern city of Vladivostok.

After the Japanese tragedy the "Mayak" decided to suspend the broadcasts, Povolyayev said and admitted that the radio station would have never signed the contract had it received sufficient budget appropriations.

However, TASS correspondent in Tokyo reported that a radio address of the Aum sect leader, Shoko Asahara, was aired to Japan from Russia overnight Thursday in which he called on his supporters to "prepare for death without repentance". TASS failed to find out the source of the transmission.

Povolyayev said he was completely taken aback by the calls to get ready to die. He said in his "Mayak"-aired statements Asahara had always called for asceticism, self-denial, told people not to steal and kill and to refrain from alcohol. "This is what other religions call for", he stressed.

According to Povolyayev, the Russian Orthodox Church did not protest against Russian broadcasting of Aum programmes, but added at the same time that no consultations had been held on the matter by his radio station with anyone.

The Russian Youth Salvation Committee is sueing "Mayak" demanding to stop Aum broadcasts and compensate for moral damage sustained by families whose children fell under the influence of the sect. According to parents, their kids had become uncontrollable and do not live at home.

"Mayak" suspends the broadcasts of Aum Shinrikyo programmes until the activities of the sect in Russia and Japan are clarified", Povolyayev said.

Pyongyang Expecting Moscow To Take Steps on Restoring Ties

LD2203133695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1301 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Valiyev]

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[FBIS Transcribed Text] Pyongyang March 22 TASS—North Korea believes that the ties between the Korean People's Democratic Republic and Russia were curtailed by Moscow unilaterally, and Pyongyang is now expecting Moscow to make steps towards restoring those ties, according to Hong Song-nam, deputy premier of the republic's administrative council.

Hong Song-nam said this during today's meeting with a delegation from Russia's Maritime Territory led by Governor Yevgeniy Nazdratenko.

The North Korean vice-premier praised the visit of the delegation and said that it was the first authoritative delegation from Russia's Far East to visit North Korea. He expressed the hope the visit will make a contribution to the development of bilateral relations.

Hong Song-nam also touched on problems relating to the border between the two countries, and the development of Russian-North Korean cooperation in fishing, which has been increasing lately.

He expressed support for Russia's stance on its territorial integrity disputed by Japan with regard to the Kuril Islands.

China Rejects Postponement of Border Demarcation

LD2303110095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1018 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Marat Abdulkhatin and Pavel Spirin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Beijing March 23 TASS—A Chinese Foreign Ministry spokesman rejected on Thursday a proposal by Vice- Speaker of the Russian State Duma Gennadiy Seleznyov concerning the postponement of the demarcation of the Russian-Chinese border in the far east.

"I consider that the 1991 frontier agreement is valid. Moreover, both parliaments have ratified it," Chen Guofang said.

Speaking earlier this week on the issue of the Russian-Chinese border demarcation, raised by the Russian far east region local authorities, Seleznyov declared "it would be appropriate to ask our great neighbour to focus on this problem not now, when Russia is ill, but after the situation in it stabilises."

Kokoshin Holds Talks in New Delhi on Military Cooperation

LD2203133195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1254 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Kotov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New Delhi March 22 TASS—Indian Defense Minister Mallikarjun and his Russian counterpart Andrey Kokoshin met here on Wednesday to discuss military cooperation between the two countries.

India is interested in purchasing various armaments from Russia, Kokoshin told ITAR-TASS.

Russia, in turn, is ready to offer India up-to-date weapons for the Army, Air Force and Navy and to cooperate with Indian business circles in producing arms, Kokoshin noted.

An official of the Indian Industry Confederation, Shekhar Datt, said that cooperation in military engineering between the two countries has a great future. Weapons account for a substantial part of India's imports from Russia. Cooperation in designing and producing various arms will allow to establish new contacts between defense enterprises and step up Russian-Indian bilateral relations, Datt said.

Military Cooperation Discussed

LD2203185495 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1151 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Leonid Kotov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Delhi, 22 Mar—Russia and India have every prospect of extending mutually advantageous cooperation in the defense sphere. Military and technical cooperation is an important aspect of cooperation between the two countries and the governments of both states are planning to devote much attention to developing it. This was stressed during talks which took place today between Andrey Kokoshin, Russian first deputy defense minister, M. Mallikarjun, Indian minister of state for defense, and other heads of the Indian Defense Ministry.

"India is showing great interest in purchasing various types of Russian weapons," A. Kokoshin stated in an interview with the ITAR- TASS correspondent. "This is receiving the full support of the Russian Government. We are prepared to offer India the most advanced combat technology for the ground forces, air force, and navy, as well as to cooperate in the long term with Indian business circles for this equipment to be produced on license from us."

The Russian first deputy defense minister also stressed this at a meeting with representatives of Indian business circles who had shown interest in direct contact with the Russian defense industry, and in acquiring "know how" from the Russian military industrial complex to develop the production of various weapons for enterprises belonging to the state and private sectors of India's economy.

In the opinion of Shekhar Dutt, chairman of the committee for links with Russia under the Confederation of Indian Industry, there is a great future for military and

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technical cooperation between our countries. "A significant proportion of India's trade with the Russian Federation is made up of Russian arms supplies to India. We now have good prospects for the joint development and production of various types of weapons, which will allow contact between enterprises in the defense industries of Russia and India to be widened, and to open up a new stage in our bilateral cooperation," Dutt said in conversation with the ITAR-TASS correspondent.

British Premier To Join WWII Celebrations in Moscow

LD2203122995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1214 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Voronkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—British Prime Minister John Major accepted Russia's invitation to take part in the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany, a spokesman for 10 Downing Street told ITAR-TASS today.

Last week-end, John Major had a telephone conversation with U.S. President Bill Clinton who had said he would also arrive in the Russian capital for the occasion.

'Old Approaches' Could Hamper Pact for Stability

MM2203124395 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Mar 95 p 3

[Report by Manki Ponomarev: "On the Way to a New Model"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives from 52 states have held the concluding conference on the Pact of Stability in Europe in Paris. The idea for this Pact was put forward almost two years ago by French Premier Edouard Balladur and won broad support. Its thrust is to channel the continent's evolution toward building a more united and cohesive Europe.

The Stability Pact comprises a declaration approved by all the conference participants together with appended bilateral agreements and treaties on good-neighborly relations and cooperation appended to it. It is supplemented by a list of the measures being adopted or envisaged by the European Union to promote the achievement of the Pact's aims and support interested states' initiatives following consultations with them. The existing treaties and commitments adopted within the framework of the United Nations, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Council of Europe, in particular the principles contained in the Helsinki Final Act and the Paris Charter for a New Europe, are deemed the Pact's normative principles.

The Stability Pact looks as though it could become the prototype for a new model of security on the continent. The Paris conference has emphasized that Europe still faces the prospect of forging a new type of international community based on the free organization of European peoples in which each of them occupies a worthy place. The Pact is intended to confirm the inviolability of borders and to guarantee the rights of ethnic minorities. This is in practice the first attempt to provide truly innovative answers to the problems of post-confrontational Europe. Unfortunately, the inertia of the old approaches and mechanisms continues to prevail in the upper echelons, finding expression in, for instance, the desire among Western countries' ruling circles to shift the borders of NATO to the boundaries of Russia, ignoring the warnings from Moscow.

The Pact for Stability in Europe is formally in force. Now everything depends on whether it is given real substance.

Rybkin, European Parliament Delegation Discuss Chechnya

LD2103143195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1354 GMT 21 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 21 TASS—Prospects for a political settlement of the Chechnya conflict were discussed here today during Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin's meeting with the European Parliament's delegation for contacts with Russia. Head of the delegation Constance Kroell noted in this connection that the European Parliament was prepared to approve the agreement on cooperation between Russia and the European Union as soon as it became clear that Russia was making progress towards peace in Chechnya and towards the observance of human rights in that republic.

"Moreover," Kroell stressed, "the European Parliament has no intentions at all to meddle with Russia's domestic affairs and is not striving for any isolation of Russia from the European Community." She said that the European Parliament had never doubted the fact that Dzhokhar Dudayev had come to power by undemocratic means. "Therefore, we stand for the holding of urgent democratic elections in the republic with the participation of observers from the European Parliament," she noted.

In his turn, Rybkin said that the State Duma had done and was doing everything it could to overcome the Chechen crisis by political means. He noted, in particular, that the Duma was currently drawing up a corresponding legislation, the first reading of which could already be adopted by the lower chamber of the Russian Parliament already this week.

Answering to questions put by the head and members of the delegation of the European Parliament, disturbed by the "unproportional" scope of the federal armed interference in Chechnya, Rybkin stressed: "We are resorting to appropriate means against a criminal regime, which is

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using heavy weapons against the federal troops. The ambitions of such leaders as Dudayev must be cut short by adequate methods." Rybkin stressed that the European Parliament should have drawn attention to the gross violations of human rights and liberties in Chechnya immediately after Dudayev had assumed power in that republic.

Explaining why the federal authorities did not hold peace talks with Dzhokhar Dudayev, the Duma speaker said: "Only elite forces can be used for talks with certain people."

Rybkin did not rule out the possibility that Sergey Kovalev could be nominated to the post of Russian human rights commissioner after the lower house adopted a law on this institution.

Kozyrev: Chechnya Will Not Affect Halifax Dialogue

LD2303105095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1012 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Dmitriy Gorokhov and Konstantin Pribytkov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Geneva March 23 TASS—The events in Chechnya will not become an obstacle to the development of Russia's dialogue with the Group-of-Seven (G-7) countries, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told ITAR-TASS here on Thursday [23 March] in response to a question to this effect.

In a talk to journalists before the start of Thursday's round of talks with U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Kozyrev touched upon preparations for the forthcoming G-7 meeting which is due to be held in Halifax, Canada, in June. "I think we have agreed to make joint headway towards Halifax," the Russian minister said, summing up the results of Wednesday's working meeting with Mr Christopher.

Kozyrev said the two sides are aware of the need for consistent advance towards an enlargement of the Group-of-Seven leading industrialised countries of the West and its developing into a G-8 with Russia's participation.

Kozyrev described Wednesday's working meeting, which served as a prologue to today's round of talks, as "constructive" and "businesslike".

Minister Informs European Delegation of Chechen Operations

LD2303093695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1733 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Mar—The work of the Ministry of Emergencies in organizing life in the Chechen Republic was the main theme at today's conversation between Sergey Shoygu, the Russian minister for civil defense, emergencies, and natural disasters, and a European Parliament delegation.

According to the Ministry of Emergencies' press service, the minister stated that the local population is being actively involved in the restoration work in the territories that have suffered from combat operations. This will make it possible to avoid the negative experience of the international operation to help Rwandan refugees. It will give people the opportunity to build housing in accordance with their own requirements and, at the same time, obtain supplementary earnings. About 5,000 people are already engaged in the restoration work.

The minister cited information about the distribution of foreign humanitarian aid in the territory of Chechnya. Specifically, 1,044.9 tonnes of humanitarian goods has been dispatched through Vladikavkaz to Chechnya. They have been delivered further by the Ministry of Emergencies road transport and distributed in Groznyy and the villages of the Chechen Republic through the local commandant's offices.

European Parliament, OSCE Delegations Arrive in N Caucasus

LD2203230195 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2109 GMT 22 Mar 95

[From the "Nota Bene" program]

[FBIS Translated Text]

[Announcer Dmitriy Sychev] Two international delegations from the European Parliament and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] arrived in the north Caucasus today to acquaint themselves with the situation around Chechnya. For Hungarian diplomat Istvan Gyarmati, the head of the OSCE delegation, this is his second visit to this region. Today he met the leadership of Ingushetia. The details in an exclusive reportage from our special correspondents accompanying the European delegation on this visit.

[Correspondent] Together with the OSCE mission, members of the Conciliation Commission for the Implementation of the Public Accord Treaty arrived to study the situation in the north Caucasus. This very representative delegation began the program for its stay in Chechnya in Mozdok where it had a meeting with Anatoliy Kulikov, commander of the Federal Group of Troops. The Hungarian diplomat Istvan Gyarmati, who is heading the OSCE delegation, stressed that the arrival of his mission at the present time is no accident, because the federal troops had begun an operation to disarm the illegal armed formations in the eastern part of Chechnya.

According to General Kulikov, they have succeeded in completing the blockade of Dudayev's fighters in Argun. Losses among federal troops were six dead and 20 wounded. In all, he said, 1,358 Russian troops and officers have been killed since the start of the conflict.

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The OSCE delegation appealed to the commanders not to carry out major combat operations in the conflict zone during its work.

[Begin Anatoliy Kulikov recording, commander of the Federal Group of Troops] Active combat operations have already been halted since a circle has been formed, an outer ring has been created, and an inner circle has already been created around Argun, therefore, this appeal coincides with this, and at 1600 hours today we are proposing that the inhabitants should leave Argun and that the fighters should surrender their weapons. [end recording]

[Correspondent] The OSCE delegation sees its main task is to ensure that combat operations are halted and to help the sides involved in the conflict sit down at the conference table. In order to carry out this task, the OSCE delegation plans to open a permanent office in Chechnya in April.

Arkadiy Volskiy, who heads the Russian part of the delegation, confirmed that the members of the Conciliation Commission intend to seek a means for a political settlement to the crisis.

From Mozdok the delegation left for Nazran, the capital of Ingushetia, where it had a meeting with the republican leaders, President Ruslan Aushev and Vice President Boris Agapov. Aushev showed them a letter that was received from Dzhokhar Dudayev, in which the latter expresses a readiness for talks. Later in the evening they had a meeting with Chechen religious figures.

Tomorrow the delegation plans to continue its work in Ingushetia, possibly meet with representatives of Dudayev and, mainly, refugees who, according to data that has been verified, number about 130,000. Then the delegation will leave for Groznyy. [video: delegates alighting from plane and being received by local officials; meeting with Kulikov; close-up of Kulikov in combat gear; Kulikov chatting with officials in small group and giving interview; Volskiy talking to officials; delegation meeting Ingushetian officials]

Presidential Adviser Urges Cautious Reaction to Crimea

LD2203143295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1333 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS analyst Tamara Zamyatina]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Presidential Council member Leonid Smirnyagin today called for keeping cool about the Ukrainian parliament's abolition of the Crimean constitution.

Smirnyagin said in an interview with ITAR-TASS that "if the constitution of a component republic runs counter to the basic law of the federative state, it is a very dangerous syndrome for that state's integrity. This syndrome should be treated with great caution both in Russia and in Ukraine."

Smirnyagin pointed out that, unlike in the Baltic states, the abrogation of the Crimean constitution did not violate the rights of the Russian-speaking population.

Because of that, protest expressed by some Russian politicians should be seen as groundless, he said. What's more, no protests have been voiced in the Crimea itself, Smirnyagin stressed.

Citing the example of the United States as a fully-fledged democracy, Smirnyagin said none of the states there has the right to call a political referendum or put to the vote a constitution which contradicts the federal fundamental law without congressional consent.

Russian Lawmakers Favor Balanced Approach to Crimea

LD2203175595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1733 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Most deputies of the Russian Parliament's lower house, the State Duma, favour a well-balanced approach to the Crimean problem, which is proved by today's reserved statement on this issue passed by a majority vote.

"The Crimean problem is very complicated, and there is no obvious solution to it", Vladimir Medvedev, leader of the new regional policy faction, told TASS. On the one hand, the Crimea is an old Russian territory, on the other hand, it currently forms part of Ukraine. Therefore, this issue calls for a compromise, and the claims like "the Crimea is ours, and we demand concessions from Ukraine" are totally inadmissible, the lawmaker noted.

But Russia should not ignore the differences between Ukraine and the Crimea either, he stressed. In this situation, lawmakers should try to avoid any radical and extremist actions and remarks, Medvedev believes.

Communist Leader Gennadiy Zyuganov called for utter self- restraint and for close contacts between the Ukrainian and Russian parliaments and leaders. The approach to the Crimean issue should be well-considered and well-balanced, "because there are powerful forces seeking to embroil Ukraine and Russia", he emphasised.

"I believe some forces in Ukraine's supreme soviet act in haste, thus generating problems that may escalate into grave conflicts, as Russia's experience proved", Zyuganov added.

Irina Khakamada, a member of the December 12 Liberal Democratic Union, believes both Russia and Ukraine should pass a constitutional law to define a procedure for

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a component region's secession out of the country. If we had passed such a law, we would have avoided the chechen and Crimean problems, she said.

According to Yevgeniy Malkin, a member of Russia's Democratic Party faction, "too much speculation about the Crimean issue is harmful for the process of integration, originates more differences and leads to playing off one people against the other". The Ukrainian authorities have acted "at least carelessly", while they ought to have followed Russia-Tatarstan pattern of relations, he noted. However, Russia should also have articulated its attitude towards the Crimean events, though in a reserved form, he went on to say. At least, the Ukrainian visit by Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets should have been canceled.

Oleg Rumyantsev, expert of the Duma Committee for Legislation and Judicial Reform, was more outspoken. "Oleg Soskovets failed to uphold Russia's national interests at the talks with Ukraine, and the Duma should give a vote no confidence to him as head of the Russian delegation to the talks with Kiev", he told TASS. According to Rumyantsev, this applies to the Crimean issue on the whole and to the Black Sea Fleet division in particular. "Soskovets failed to uphold even what could be upheld in the fleet division", he noted.

Rumyantsev, who was a legal adviser to Crimean President Yuriy Meshkov last year, believes "Russia has a wide range of economic, financial and foreign economic leverages to convince Ukraine that 2.5 million of our fellow-citizens in the Crimea cannot be easily overlooked". Moscow's current line "for giving up Russia's interests in the Crimea" runs counter to last month's message by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to the Federal Assembly. According to the lawyer, Ukraine virtually pushes the situation towards a military confrontation in the Crimea, which may result in a repetition of the "Yugoslavian pattern".

Duma Deputies Comment on Situation in Crimea

MK2303105095 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 23 Mar 95 pp 1, 2

[Report by Ivan Maksimov, Yelena Korotkova: "Deputies' Defense of Crimea. Oleg Soskovets Sells Out Motherland"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Russian deputies were extremely angered by the Ukrainian leadership's decision on dissolving the Crimean Supreme Soviet and other measures to liquidate Crimea's liberties. With unprecedented unanimity they passed "statements" and decrees warning their Ukrainian brethren that they will not be able to get away with it. Unless Kiev comes to its senses, the parliamentarians hint, it will have to repay huge Ukrainian debts to Russia, finally to bid farewell to the Black Sea Fleet, and to take Sevastopol's Russian status as an axiom. Moreover, Duma members threaten to revise all recent Russian-Ukrainian agreements. Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets, head of the Russian delegation in talks with Ukraine, was charged with "selling out Russian national interests," and will be held accountable at the Duma's plenary meeting.

A "Russia's Choice" member called on his colleagues, however, to give thought to a sensitive matter as follows: Who was it who suggested to the Ukrainian leadership the tough measures of "bringing order" to Crimea? Aren't these Russian "patriots," with their demands to do away with Chechen separatists? And, generally speaking, the crucial question that must be resolved is who owns Crimea after all? If it is Ukraine, then should one poke one's nose into other people's affairs?

Vasiliy Lipitskiy, independent deputy and leader of the Social Democratic Union: "The calculations of the Kiev leadership are evident. They want to exploit the fact that Russia has bogged down in Chechnya and cannot adopt a firm stance to protect its interests in Crimea."

Nikolay Kharitonov, deputy leader of the Agrarian Party's Duma faction: "Now is probably the time to return to the question of whether Khrushchev was correct in giving Crimea to Ukraine as a gift. One should not take impulsive, hasty actions with regard to Crimea. Recently lots of good things have been accumulated in relations with Ukraine. But at the same time the stance by the Ukrainian parliament, half of which is made up of communists, elicits astonishment. Why light the Crimean fuse in addition to the Chechen one?"

Aleksey Leushkin, cochairman of the "Stability" centrist faction: "We should use all opportunities to pressure Kiev, particularly with regard to the repayment of Ukrainian debts to Russia so as to induce the Ukrainians to forge relations with the Crimeans on the basis of compromise."

Vladimir Tetelmin, "Russia's Choice" deputy: "The Ukrainian leadership simply followed the example shown it by the Russian leadership in Chechnya. Both here and there, the desire is evident to 'bring order' by high-handed methods, ignoring the wishes of the local population."

Irina Khakamada, member of the "12 December Union" deputy group: "The Duma's statement on Crimea is very soft, and for this reason we backed it. But it does not explore the roots of the Crimean situation. They are the same as those in relations between Russia and Chechnya, where the desire to retain territorial integrity on one side gives rise to a liberation movement on the other." [passage omitted]

FIS Expects 'Compromise' on NPT Extension

MM2303122395 Moscow TRUD in Russian 23 Mar 95 p 4

["Extracts" from Foreign Intelligence Service report on Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty to be submitted by Foreign Intelligence Service Director Ye.M. Primakov at

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the Russian Foreign Ministry Press Center 23 March: "TRUD Exclusive: It Must Be Extended Forever. Otherwise..."—first paragraph is editorial introduction; last paragraph is editorial conclusion]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the eve of the International Conference on the Extension of the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons [NPT] to be convened in New York in April the Russian Federation Foreign Intelligence Service [FIS] has prepared a detailed report, which will be made public by FIS Director Ye.M. Primakov at the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry Press Center 23 March. The TRUD Editorial Office has in its possession the text of this open report, extracts of which we provide for our readers.

The NPT represents the only real, universal, worldwide basis for the deterrence of nuclear weapons proliferation. It was opened for signature 1 July 1968 and entered into force 5 March 1970. To date 172 countries are party to it, including all the nuclear powers, including the Russian Federation as the USSR's sole rightful heir to the Treaty.

The 25 years that the Treaty has been in existence constitute a period long enough to comprehend its advantages and weaknesses and formulate the optimum position on the NPT in the light of the current and future situation and agenda. A matter of weeks remain until the the Conference on the Extension of the Treaty submits its verdict.

For Russia the future of the NPT will not only inevitably affect its strategic course of ensuring international security but will have a major impact on the interests of national security: The emergence on the Russian Federation's borders of new nuclear countries would pose a real threat, destabilize the situation in the "near abroad" zone, and make it necessary to review the guidelines of Russian defense policy, notably insofar as its nuclear component is concerned. That assessment was voiced in the Russian Federation president's statement at the 49th UN General Assembly session, in which he unequivocally advocated the indefinite and unconditional extension of the Treaty.

FIS experts consider the moment that the NPT entered into force the starting point for the nuclear disarmament process.

The Basis of Nuclear Security

The NPT mechanism has demonstrated sufficient vigor and relatively high effectiveness in the extraordinary conditions afforded by the collapse of one of the nuclear superpowers, the USSR, when in addition to Russia another three states emerged—Ukraine, Kazakhstan, and Belarus—on whose territory not only nuclear weapons but also a considerable proportion of the existing infrastructure necessary for their production and testing were deployed. By combined efforts on the part of (and in some cases under pressure from) the nuclear states these countries officially agreed to eliminate the nuclear arsenals on their territories and subscribe to the NPT as nuclear-free states. To date around 600 strategic nuclear weapons [boyezaryady] have been withdrawn from Ukrainian territory back to Russia. They are being dismantled at Russian enterprises under the supervision of Ukrainian representatives. The withdrawal of nuclear weapons from Belarus and Kazakhstan is proceeding just as successfully. It is planned that by the end of 1996 there will not be a single nuclear weapon left in these countries.

By the efforts of the international community it proved possible to prevent the DPRK from withdrawing from the Treaty and to stop that state from breaching the agreement on International Atomic Energy Agency [IAEA] guarantees. The series of measures taken at international level to detect and eliminate Iraq's mass destruction weapon potential can be considered a success in the sphere of countering attempts by individual states to develop arsenals of mass-destruction weapons secretly. **Summarizing available data, the FIS specialists have concluded that but for the NPT the number of countries in possession of nuclear weapons in the mid-nineties would have been considerably greater.**

At the same time, 25 years after the entry into force of the Treaty there is still a group of states in the world which are developing their own military programs and in this connection do not subscribe in principle to the Treaty. This group includes Israel, India, and Pakistan. These countries have become de facto owners of military nuclear systems.

In the FIS experts' opinion, the presence in the world of de facto nuclear countries which have not subscribed to the NPT constitutes the greatest threat to the nonproliferation regime.

A number of Arab states have announced their intention of taking a negative line on the Treaty, justifying this by Israel's refusal to subscribe to it. FIS experts believe that, even if it proves possible to change the Arab states' stance, in the long term breaking the deadlock depends on Israeli policy.

The Treaty regime regarding access to technologies for the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes comes in for sharp criticism, particularly from a number of developing countries. In a number of cases these safeguards are dictated by market rivalry. Often there is a political background to the safeguards. Thus, for instance, the United States has sharply opposed the agreements signed by Russia and Iran in the sphere of the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

Improving the Verification Mechanism

FIS experts consider it totally justified for national intelligence services to take part in providing information support for a UN representative body such as a

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multifunctional center for monitoring [kontrol] mass-destruction weapons proliferation.

The creation of such a center is obviously also desirable owing to the need for a more lucid approach to the problem of illegal trafficking in nuclear materials. Over the last 18-24 months there have been high-profile cases involving the "interception" of enriched uranium and plutonium and attempts to attribute the problem of illegal trafficking directly to a lack of effectiveness in the NPT.

The reality is that hitherto there has not been a single recorded case in international experience of a theft of weapons-grade nuclear materials. The Russian special services have proof that the actual "high-profile cases" have arisen in a number of instances as a result of "contracts" and undiscriminating activity by certain countries' police bodies and have even been artificially encouraged by "black market" dealers offering large sums of money. The ultimate customer has never been named even for those materials that are not suitable for the development of nuclear weapons.

It is to the credit of the countries affected by this phenomenon that it has proved possible to quickly reach an agreement on joint actions by law-enforcement organs.

Possible Scenarios: Do All Roads Lead to the Objective?

Article X, Point 2 of the NPT clearly stipulates that a decision to extend the Treaty is taken by a simple majority of the parties to the NPT.

There are in theory four main options for the possible development of events regarding the NPT at the upcoming Conference:

1. The indefinite extension of the Treaty.

2. A departure from the indefinite option but the extension of the Treaty for an additional lengthy period.

3. A breakdown of the Treay extension procedure into certain timeframes (five to 10 years), with each extension linked to specific commitments made mainly by the members of the "nuclear club."

4. No positive results at the conference. **Scenario No. 1.** The main problem is resolved: The NPT is preserved. However, its maintenance ceases to depend on any short- term factors that may taken shape in the future. The world nonproliferation system is still based on the universal Treaty, which given the cessation of the Cold War confrontational period renders it even more reliable. The quest for an alternative regime to the NPT—a regime which would, judging by the debate under way, inevitably lessen the safeguards present in the current Treaty—ends. The indefinite existence of the NPT will best help to put a stop to the "vertical" (qualitative) nuclear arms race and the "horizontal," "geographical" proliferation of these weapons.

Amendment of the Treaty entails considerable difficulties. But, if the Treaty is extended indefinitely, the emphasis will shift to improving the mechanism for its implementation. An indefinite NPT will create the best conditions for increasing the effectiveness of the IAEA.

The agreement of most states to the indefinite extension of the NPT will create a new psychological climate in the world. Suspicion and mistrust will decline. Every state that has voted for the indefinite extension of the Treaty has a right to expect the removal of all obstacles to its obtaining peaceful nuclear technologies and equipment. At the same time, under Article X, Point 1 every country retains the right to individually withdraw from the Treaty should such a political decision be taken. **Scenario No. 2.** The factors that may lead to this scenario are enshrined in the equivocal stance espoused by most developing countries toward the NPT: On the one hand, they are pressing for the improvement of the Treaty when it comes to ensuring equal rights for all of the parties to it but, on the other, according to FIS figures, this very same majority is aware of the need not to eliminate the Treaty itself, whose stabilizing influence is widely acknowledged. This duality effectively amounts to the possibility of a compromise.

What form might it take? Obviously, not concessions by the "nuclear five" on the most fundamental issues such as scheduling the dates for the elimination of nuclear weapons or opening up virtually unrestricted access to nuclear technologies. The point is not only that such fundamental decisions cannot be adopted "on the hoof," so to speak, without careful preparation. The point is also that the conference's function is not to change the content of the NPT but to resolve the question of its prolongation. Therefore there is reason to believe that a compromise will be sought with regard to the timeframes for the extension of the Treaty.

Many developing countries taking part in the Conference may proceed on the premise that a limited rather than an indefinite extension would preserve the nuclear countries' definite dependence on the nuclear-free countries since it would prompt the former to make purposeful efforts in all aspects of nuclear disarmament before the next date for a decision on the NPT. However, the "flip side" - - and this is also recognized—is the fear that a short-term extension could impart uncertainty to the prospects for nuclear disarmament talks, make everyone uncertain as to the future of the NPT, dramatically reduce the incentives for accession to it, once again whip up certain states' nuclear ambitions, and generate hopes of the expansion of the "nuclear club." In these conditions a compromise solution may be found whereby most of the parties to the Treaty favor extending it for another 25-year period, say, provided that an amendment is made to the Treaty enabling another conference on extension to be held. However, Article VIII Points 1 and 2 render the amendment of the NPT difficult.

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This decision is a poor substitute compared with the indefinite extension of the NPT but, in the opinion of FIS experts, will be if not the ideal, nevertheless a major positive result of the conference. **Scenario No. 3.** If it is agreed to extend the NPT for a fixed period, many people think it more effective to break down this timeframe into several periods, with the prospect of concluding previously agreed associated agreements each time, notably, a treaty on the universal prohibition of nuclear tests or an agreement to suspend production of nuclear fissile materials for military purposes. In the opinion of FIS experts, this scenario is unacceptable. First, there will be disputes over the duration of these periods. But—and this is even more tricky—it will be necessary to create a mechanism to adopt the decision the end of each period on whether or not to move on to the next phase. Needless to say, one can agree to automatically move on from one phase to another. That effectively results in the fate of the NPT - - the leading, fundamental agreement, on which the entire nonproliferation regime hinges—becoming dependent on the signing of very important but nonetheless auxiliary accords which develop individual provisions of the NPT. **Scenario No. 4.** Some radical Third World countries could try to transform the upcoming Conference into a political battlefield where they will try to really demonstrate their clout in the world community while defending the interests of the South in the confrontation with the North. This will result in deadlock for the Conference. It may be necessary to break off the Conference as a result of irreconcilable differences, although that is unlikely.

The lack of a definite decision to extend the Treaty is the most unacceptable scenario.

In that case the prestige of the NPT would be seriously affected. An increase in attempts to withdraw from it or disregard its mechanisms could be predicted with certainty. That would all begin the collapse of the nonproliferation regime and, as a result, would lead to far-reaching, global, negative changes. However, the world would not simply be thrown back to the period which existed before the NPT came into force. The consequences would be far worse. Whereas 25 years ago some developing countries had only begun to implement military nuclear programs, they have now advanced a long way down this road, and some countries already have ready-made nuclear weapons. Given the lack of the deterrent factor in the shape of the NPT, nuclear ambitions would run even higher. This would whip up the nuclear arms race, primarily at regional level. And it would be far harder to stop than it was 25 years ago.

The consequences would also affect accords associated with the NPT. The fate of the Treaty on the All-Embracing Prohibition of Nuclear Tests would be adversely predetermined, the preparations for talks on the suspension of production of fissile materials for weapons and other explosive devices would come to an end, and the prevailing systems of regional nuclear nonproliferation regimes would inevitably collapse.

The possibility of latent regional conflicts degenerating into armed crises involving the use of mass-destruction weapons would increase. Conflicts between "threshold" and nonnuclear states would be particularly dangerous in this context since the former would be tempted to achieve their political objectives with minimum expenditure of manpower and material resources or even simply by threatening the possible use of nuclear potential.

Today the Treaty, albeit still imperfect, is the linchpin on which the entire world nuclear nonproliferation regime hinges. The existence of the NPT is the most important condition of strategic stability. No political ambitions or even what at first glance seem to be noble motives must harm the relative equilibrium that has taken shape in the world in the nuclear sphere.

The report contains an appendix characterizing the nuclear potential of Algeria, Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, Israel, India, Iraq, Iran, the DPRK, Libya, Pakistan, the ROK, Romania, Taiwan, the Republic of South Africa, and Japan.

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Political Issues

Yeltsin Chairs National Security Council Session

LD2303164595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1401 GMT 23 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Mar 23 (Interfax)—A meeting of the Russian National Security Council [NSC], chaired by President Boris Yeltsin, started in the Kremlin. It discusses preparations for celebration of the 50th anniversary of victory in World War II.

Yeltsin said that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, in charge of the preparations, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov will address the meeting.

The meeting is held behind closed doors.

It is attended by the NSC Secretary Oleg Lobov, Federal Assembly House Chairmen Vladimir Shumeyko and Ivan Rybkin, presidential chief of staff Sergey Filatov, Deputy Prime Ministers Aleksey Bolshakov, Sergey Shakhray and Yuriy Yarov, Finance Minister Vladimir Panskov, Emergency Minister Sergey Shoygu, Federal Counterintelligence Director Sergey Stepashin, Foreign Intelligence Service chief Yevgeniy Primakov, Federal Border Guards Service Director Andrey Nikolayev, president's senior aide Viktor Ilyushin and presidential aides Georgiy Satarov, Anatoliy Karabelshchikov, Dmitriy Ryurikov and Mikhail Krasnov.

Yeltsin 'Measures' Against Fascism, Extremism

LD2303130995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1156 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Mar—Russian President Boris Yeltsin has today signed an edict on combating manifestations of fascism and extremism in Russia, the press service of the head of the Russian state said.

"In the Russian Federation incidents involving the whipping up of hostilities on the basis of social, race, ethnic, and religious differences, and the circulation of fascist ideas have become increasingly frequent," the text of the edict released by the press service says.

"The anticonstitutional activities of people with extremist sentiments is increasing in their scale and is becoming more impertinent in their nature; illegal armed and militarized formations are being set up. There is an increasing threat of these groups merging with some of the trade union, commercial, financial, and criminal structures," the edict says.

The Russian president gave in this connection specific instructions to the Russian Federation Government, the acting prosecutor general, the Interior Ministry, Counterintelligence Service, and other authorized services to take all the necessary measures to combat these phenomena.

Yeltsin Endorses Chechen 'Committee of National Accord'

LD2303131495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1038 GMT 23 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Mar 23 (Interfax)—The Russian president has endorsed the decision of the Provisional Council of Chechnya to set up a 45-member Committee of National Accord.

The presidential decree on provisional bodies of state authority in the Chechen Republic, signed Thursday [23 March], says that the Committee of National Accord will work for reconciliation, draft a Constitution and pass election regulations.

The committee, chaired by Umar Avturkhanov, will consist of 45 members, notably deputies of the former Supreme Soviet of the Chechen-Ingush Republic and top influential local public figures.

"The federal bodies of authority will recognize the fact that the functions of executive authorities in the Chechen republic will be performed by the National Revival Government (under Salambek Khadzhiyev) until a body of executive authority is set up in compliance with the republic's new constitution," the decree says.

The Russian Central Election Commission will help the Committee of National Accord in organizing and staging free elections of local government and state authorities in Chechnya.

The decree, designed to stabilize the sociopolitical situation in Chechnya, and to provide favorable conditions for the setting up of bodies of state authority there and protect the citizens' rights and freedoms, came into force immediately upon publication.

Yeltsin, Security Council, Discuss WWII Remembrance Plans

LD2203194095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1856 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, Mar 22 (INTERFAX)—The Russian Security Council, presided over by Russian President Boris Yeltsin, will consider the preparation for celebrating the 50th anniversary of the victory in the WWII in the Kremlin Thursday. Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev and Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov are expected to address the meeting on the issue.

Asked why the Security Council planned to consider the issue, Lobov said: "This is done because the Security Council concentrates virtually all the main ropes of the

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preparation for the great holiday rather than to ensure the safety of its participants. That is why Boris Yeltsin, who is attentively watching the progress of works, will be able to obtain comprehensive information on the issue at tomorrow's Security Council meeting."

Lobov emphasized that Yeltsin had set a goal to make the 5th anniversary of the glorious victory a cloudless and solemn popular celebration. Foreign guests should be paid the highest consideration, he added.

Lobov did not rule out that the discussion of the issue could be continued at the next Security Council meeting in early April.

Yeltsin Directive on Regional Powers Conference

MM1503171395 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Mar 95 First Edition p 16

[Russian Federation president's directive no. 113-rts "On Holding Scientific and Practical Conference on 'Problems of the Demarcation and Mutual Delegation of Powers Between the Federal Organs of State Power and the Organs of State Power of the Components of the Russian Federation: Experience and Prospects'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] 1. On 24 March 1995 in Moscow a scientific and practical conference is to be held entitled "Problems of the Demarcation and Mutual Delegation of Powers Between the Federal Organs of State Power and the Organs of State Power of the Components of the Russian Federation: Experience and Prospects" (hereinafter referred to as the conference) with the participation of representatives of the Russian Federation President's Staff, the Russian Federation Ministry of Nationalities Affairs and Regional Policy, the Russian Ministry of Justice, and other interested federal organs of executive power, the Russian Academy for state service under the Russian Federation President, the components of the Russian Federation, and also legal scholars.

The organization of the conference is to be assigned to the Russian Federation President's staff's administration for work with the territories and the Russian Academy for state service under the Russian Federation president.

The conference is to be held in the building of the Russian Academy for State Service under the Russian Federation President at number 84 Vernadskiy Avenue.

2. Approve the organizational committee for preparing and holding the conference in accordance with the appendix.

3. The Russian Federation president's administration of affairs must provide premises, transport services, and public catering for the conference participants.

4. Expenses connected with holding the conference are met according to the estimate of the Russian Federation president's staff.

Expenses connected with the accommodation and catering for the conference participants are at met by the organizations sending the participants.

5. This directive enters into force on the day it is signed.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation, 6 March 1995.

Composition of the Organizational Committee for Preparing and Holding the Scientific and Practical Conference on "Problems of the Demarcation and Reciprocal Delegation of Powers Between the Federal Organs of State Power and the Organs of State Power of the Components of the Russian Federation: Experience and Prospects"

S.A. Filatov—leader of the Russian Federation president's staff (cochairman of the organizational committee).

S.M. Shakhray—deputy chairman of the Russian Federation Government (cochairman of the organizational committee).

N.G. Aminov—fully empowered representative of the Republic of Tatarstan in the Russian Federation.

V.I. Vyunitskiy—consultant of the Russian Federation president's staff's administration for work with the territories (executive secretary of the organizational committee).

A.M. Yemelyanov—president and rector of the Russian Academy for state service under the Russian Federation president.

A.I. Kazakov—chief of the Russian Federation president's staff's administration for work with the territories.

A.A. Kotenkov—Russian Federation deputy minister for nationalities affairs and regional policy.

V.D. Likhachev—Vice President of the Republic of Tatarstan.

A.V. Olefirenko—deputy chief of the Russian Federation president's state and law administration.

V.A. Pechenev—deplete chief of the Russian Federation president's staff's administration for work with the territories.

M.Yu. Urnov—leader of the Russian Federation president's analysis center.

Yabloko Spokesman Explains Chechnya Stance

954Q0151A Moscow NOVOYE VREMYA in Russian No 8, Feb 95 (signed to press 21 Feb 95) pp 2-3

[Statement by Yevgeniya Dillendorf, leader of the press office of the Yabloko faction, on behalf of the Yabloko faction; place and date not given: "The Duma Is Mentally and Physically Exhausted, But Yabloko Is Not Slumbering"]

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[FBIS Translated Text] The journal NOVOYE VREMYA has long been widely known as a high-quality political publication. Understanding the importance of its saving face, harboring respect for its readers, and, naturally, displaying concern for the interests of the Yabloko faction, the faction's press office requests that you repudiate the erroneous information that appeared in No. 2-3/95 on page 12. Citing an anonymous representative of the Yabloko faction in the article "The Duma Is Mentally and Physically Exhausted," the journalist Marina Shakina maintains that the faction has no defined position ("it is not, it is true, as mentally and physically exhausted as Russia's Choice") on the events in Chechnya.

The faction's press office requests that you note that the Yabloko faction has adopted the clearest and strictest position right from the start of the Chechen conflict. Before the problem had reached the crisis phase even, the Yabloko faction had expressed a negative attitude toward the federal executive's attempts to resolve the conflict militarily. On 6-7 December a number of deputies of the faction headed by its leader, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, made a peacemaking trip to Groznyy to avert the start of hostilities, offering themselves as General Dudayev's hostages in exchange for the captured Russian military personnel. A day after the commitment of federal troops to the Chechen Republic the Yabloko faction unequivocally condemned this action in its statement "The Situation in the North Caucasus." The faction was guided primarily by the principles of morals and political pragmatism in the interests of the preservation and strengthening of the Russian Federation.

The Yabloko faction was the first to point to the impossibility of any negotiations whatever being conducted by the Russian officials guilty of having unleashed the conflict and to the need for their resignation.

Several times since the moment Russian troops entered Chechnya Yabloko has proposed various paths, depending on the development of the situation, of a peaceful resolution of the conflict. The faction was the first to offer a legislative initiative, which could have secured the real participation of the State Duma, which still lacks status, in the adoption of decisions on the Chechen problem. The faction's deputies prepared and submitted to the Duma the draft federal law "On Delegations for a Settlement of the Armed Conflict." The basis of the law was a plan for the resolution of the problem by negotiations, which consisted of three stages:

1. It proposed for a start negotiations on an end to combat operations, the disengagement of the troops, and an exchange of prisoners;

2. In the event of the military aspects being settled successfully, it was planned to begin negotiations of plenipotentiary representatives of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation for the preparation of draft solutions coordinated with the Chechen side on key questions of a political settlement for their subsequent approval by the Russian Parliament;

3. Depending on the results of the political negotiations and the nature of the future political relationship between the federal authorities and the authorities of the Chechen Republic, the draft provided for the formation of a government delegation for negotiations on economic and other special questions, including a guarantee of the rights of the inhabitants of Chechnya, the security of transport facilities and supply lines, an end to the illegal dealing in arms and narcotics, the curtailment of illegal financial transactions, and others.

The draft law was for considerations of political intrigue rejected by the Council of the State Duma, and the next day, by the Duma deputies at a plenary session also. The Yabloko faction then distributed a statement, which spoke of the members of parliament's responsibility for "deliberate inaction."

When, following the unsuccessful assault on Groznyy in the early hours of 1 January, it was ascertained that Yabloko's worst suppositions concerning the inevitability of a bloody and protracted war had been confirmed, it toughened its position in relation to the president. The faction had insisted even earlier on the need for early presidential elections (in 1995). Now, however, the leader of the faction pointed in the statement of 4 January 1995 to the immediate replacement of the totally discredited authorities as the sole way out of the bloody tragedy.

Understanding the impossibility of carrying through an impeachment procedure under the conditions of the present authoritarian regime, given the absence of the requisite institutions of power (a constitutional court) and imperfect legislation, in a war situation particularly, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy called on Yeltsin to step down voluntarily.

Since the start of the Chechen events the Yabloko faction has spoken out repeatedly on many matters connected with the war in Chechnya, on a prohibition on the army being involved in internal conflicts, in particular.

Chubays Responds to Vorkuta Miners' Hunger Strike

LD1803162195 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The Ekho Moskvy radio station has reported that Aleksandr Marmalyukov, chairman of the Vorkuta Independent Union of Mineworkers, received a telegram from First Deputy Prime Minister Anatoliy Chubays in response to the indefinite hunger strike announced by the leaders of two miners' trade unions. From this telegram, it follows that the arrival in Vorkuta of a team headed by a fuel and power engineering deputy minister is expected on 20 March, which

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will prepare documents for an interdepartmental commission. This interdepartmental commission is to fly to Vorkuta on 24 March.

PRES Aims To Win Presidential Elections in 2000

LD1803151495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1359 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Mar 18 (Interfax)—Russian Deputy Prime Minister, leader of the Party for Russian Unity and Concord (PRUC) [PRES] Sergey Shakhray told a nationwide party conference in Moscow Saturday [18 March] that PRUC's long-term goal is to win the presidential elections in 2000. "There are no sufficient grounds to count on a victory at the 1996 presidential elections," he added. Shakhray believes that his party does not have enough strength and money for a winning election campaign.

In addition, Shakhray described as an "unfavorable factor" for his party the "information blockade by a number of mass media, notably the channel Ostankino."

PRUC short-term goal is to win at least 4 million votes, or 6-7 percent of the electorate, at the 1995 parliamentary elections.

Shakhray did not rule that PRUC could form an election bloc with "political forces close by their programs and goals" to become a parliamentary majority party. Among its potential allies, he named renown ophthalmologist Professor Svyatoslav Fedorov, leader of the Forward Russia movement Boris Fedorov and association Russia's Women.

Gaydar Party Eyes Duma, Presidential Polls

MM2003114995 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 16 Mar 95 First Edition p 1

[Commentary by Aleksandr Batygin under "Topical Theme" rubric: "Dress Rehearsal. The Leaders of Countless Russian Parties and Public Movements Have Started Out on the Road to the Top Federal Posts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The ultimate goal of the marathon which has begun is well known—parliamentary elections are scheduled for December this year and presidential elections will be held in summer next year. No political gathering today is complete without debates about election preparations, wealthy "donors," the forging of electoral alliances, and so forth.

Currently the State Duma deputies elected from party lists have a clear advantage over their colleagues who entered parliament from the territorial districts. However, the eternally self-confident beau monde in the capital has recently begun to display some concern. The reason is the president's draft law "On Elections of Russian Federation State Duma Deputies," which has provoked considerable debate because the draft takes the parliamentary establishment "by the throat." The draft changes the very principle whereby the Duma's composition is formed: It stipulates that 300 deputies must be elected from the single-seat territorial districts and only 150 from the federation-wide party lists. The mechanism installed by the president and his team is designed to reduce the deputies' well-known level of polarization, on the one hand, and provide an infusion of fresh blood in the form of deputies from the provinces on the other.

In other words, the comparison may be hypothetical but the new draft law expresses the principle of equality of rights and inspires the hope of strengthening the real rather than ostentatious links between the legislators and Russia's multimillion population, which has somehow imperceptibly been forgotten in the huge building on Okhotnyy Ryad.

There has been much talk lately about the preparation for the forthcoming elections. In particular, it is no coincidence that at a plenum of the council of Russia's Democratic Choice, which met last weekend at the Izmaylovo arts complex in Moscow, Yegor Gaydar, the party's leader, dwelt on preparation for the parliamentary elections and paid special attention to tasks involved in the creation of a broad democratic coalition. Today the party's potential coalition partners, Gaydar stressed, are equivocating: No one is saying "no," but no one is getting down to concrete work either.

In criticizing former comrades in the person of Oleg Boyko, chairman of the executive committee, now resigned, who expressed his personal opinion about the Chechen conflict, Gaydar demonstrated a subtle understanding of the new situation. Take, for example, the adoption of the statement by Russia's Democratic Choice, which is significantly different from the draft originally distributed to plenum participants and which was couched in far harsher tones using such words as "ineffectiveness of power," "dangerous tendency toward adventures," and so forth.

In the campaign skirmishes it is those who demonstrate the best strategy and tactics and well-balanced approaches who have the greatest chance of success. Is that not why the majority of the party's members and its leaders, according to Gaydar, rejected both the appeals to "give the president grudging support" and the demand for the resignation of the leaders of the state and the government.

"Of course, we disagreed with the president on the question of the Chechen war and we believe that he will bear personal responsibility for its solution," Gaydar said, and immediately added: "At the same time we do not support the idea of the impeachment of the president and early presidential elections."

Subsequently Yegor Timurovich even praised Boris Yeltsin for scrapping the export and import tariff concessions, noting that "this is the first time that economic policy has displayed integrity and inner logic."

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Ignoring the verbal finery it may be said that Russia's Democratic Choice is now getting ready for the forthcoming elections and the party's leaders are still trying to find the more attractive face that it lost as a result of last year's crisis. The Russia's Choice people have become more flexible. On the one hand they fiercely criticize the president's policy but on the other they are strenuously avoiding talk of impeachment. A flexibility bordering on inconsistency? Is that not why such vacillations have been duly assessed within the Duma's varied ranks? For example, the faction's attempts to put forward in parliament draft laws aimed at increasing Duma control over the president's actions were rejected.

...Russia's Democratic choice, in the opinion of its leader, has "historical truth" on its side. It seems that Yegor Gaydar somewhat overestimates the real strength of his brainchild and, let us add, of the party's influence over people's minds generally today. At the moment Russia's Democratic Choice is largely populated by the habitues of political gatherings in the capital. The role of the political parties, including Russia's Democratic Choice, in public life has not increased. The internal collisions that occur within a party are of little concern to ordinary citizens, any more than the conflict between general secretary Gaydar and banker Boyko. Let us be frank about it: Many deputies would hardly have succeeded in becoming Russian parliamentarians if they had stood in territorial districts rather than on party lists.

Nevertheless, as in previous years "everyone wants to be in the driving seat" and the leaders of the parties and political movements are holding dress rehearsals for the top job in an attemnpt to stand out from the general background of their rivals, enemies, and competitors. Any means will do to achieve that end. As the most famous Bolshevik said, "The main thing is to be in the fray."

Security Panel's Ilyukhin on Organized Crime

MM2303120595 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Mar 95 First Edition p 4

[Interview with Viktor Ilyukhin, chairman of the State Duma Security Committee, by Aleksandr Kapkov of the State Duma Press Service "specially for ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA"; place and date not given: "Crime Must Be Resolutely Stopped From Coming to Power by the Joint Efforts of the Authorities and Law-Enforcement Agencies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The State Duma has given first-reading approval to the draft law "On Combating Organized Crime." An event which should please everyone, it would seem. But as yet crime bulletins most resemble bulletins of combat operations. Lawmaking is not keeping up with real life. Why is this? Why are criminal groups joining up and emerging at the interregional and international level, and why are armed clashes reminiscent of local wars taking place in the struggle for the division of spheres of influence?

The reasons are all around us. M.K. Yegorov, Russian first deputy minister of internal affairs, told the State Duma the following shocking fact, among others. Underworld bosses, the number of whom in Russia has reached 360, have apparently gotten into executive power structures, the State Duma, and the Federation Council. How is the situation to be controlled, including in legislation, in order to provide protection against crime spreading its tentacles? Over to State Duma Security Committee Chairman Viktor Ilyukhin, one of the architects of the draft law.

[Ilyukhin] There are terrifying predictions concerning the crime situation all over the press, but what can you do if there is no way these predictions can be any different at this time. Criminals have become so brazen that they are opting for overt terror against organs of power and judicial bodies. The country needs a fundamentally new action program, a new legal area. Because the selfish ambitions of individual leaders of political parties and groupings, who are destroying the economy, are now being given priority when what we need are constructive experts.

[Kakpov] Surely it is not the absence of laws which leads to such consequences? After all, past legislation survived, and there has also been the presidential edict on combating organized crime....

[Ilyukhin] To keep it concise, let me cite a few facts and figures about the state of our national and personal security. At the plenary session of the State Duma it was mentioned that criminal elements had been threatening to blow up heat supply systems in Yakutsk and to poison the water pipe serving the whole of Vladivostok in order to get money. These are "typical scenarios" for evil actions in Russia today. But the criminals are not only confining themselves to this. Some 20 percent of all extracted oil and 34 percent of all mineral fertilizers are illegally exported—and this at a time when our soil has become impoverished. $18-20 billion leaks out of Russia every year and finds a home in the West. The financial system has been destroyed. According to figures from the Russian Academy of Sciences, 55-60 percent of capital and 81-85 percent of voting stock is now moving, if it hasn't moved already, into the hands of criminal and foreign structures. How can such a thing be possible?

And then there are the figures for crime linked with the safeguarding of personal safety. Every year more than 3 million citizens suffer harm from crime. These figures are understated, and I agree with those analysts who say that 10-12 million crimes are committed in Russia every year. Last year the number of serious crimes increased by more than 100,000, while drugs-related crimes were up 60 percent. The criminal world has more than 100.000 heavies at its disposal. Some of them are armed. This enormous army is capable of carrying out not only its own selfish tasks but also questions relating to big-league politics. They are already deciding questions concerned with power, incidentally. And our power structures are in no hurry to impose order.

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Like it or not, a division of economic spheres of influence into criminal sectors, groupings, and clans has taken place in the present economic system. You don't need special analytical skills to observe that basically we have flourishing oil, trading, financial and banking, fuel and energy, and wine and vodka mafias. It is these former mainstays of the state monopoly which are calling the tune, have led to the criminalization of the market, have made the current rate of exchange of the dollar against the depressed ruble profitable for themselves, and are also keeping traditionally strong sectors of industry and our entire scientific and technical potential in a state of imposed paralysis by giving priority to amoral criminal license, corruption, and illegality verging on the disreputable.

Do you recall how things were during the formative stage of new Russian business? At first there were promises of a tax and concessions paradise for small business. But everything which might have pulled the country out of crisis at the micro-level (cooperatives, small businesses, joint ventures, and so forth) developed into a crude mafia setup at the macro-level. And at present business security is only possible at the macro-level since only the monsters of the economy are allowed top-class security. No small business can protect itself against racketeering or criminal taxes unless it has big money, unless it can get normal credit rather than rapacious credit at 200 percent a year, or, ultimately, if producers, who are the ones who have to sustain the economy, are not protected by the law, the police, concessions, or morality, which has currently been left to its own devices.

[Kapkov] The view that, in accordance with international legal norms, some deals struck by big Russian firms could be classified as economic crimes has been repeatedly expressed at State Duma sessions. What can you say about this?

[Ilyukhin] The well-known "Sukhoy Log" gold field in Irkutsk Oblast has been handed over to an Australian firm for exploitation. It gets 31 percent of the total profit without having essentially invested sufficient capital, and is already receiving profits. The Pechora oil field is being handed over to three American and one Norwegian firm for exploitation. Not a single Russian concern has yet been allowed to get involved in exploiting it. Why is this happening? Is it because Russia, which has among the lowest ratings in terms of international investment attractiveness, is nevertheless falling into the hands of foreign and criminal companies? What drives this kind of association between foreigners and our criminal world? Is it not because many foreign companies which come here are in fact "ours" but with a foreign name on their signboard?!

[Kapkov] How dangerous is this?

[Ilyukhin] Just one instance from which you can judge this is how this criminal infiltration into the state economy led to the present Chechen scenario. It is now accepted for everyone to recall how there was unprecedented growth of crime in the republic. Even if you take only purely economic crimes the list would fill dozens of pages. Thus, on the Groznyy section of the North Caucasus Railroad 559 trains were attacked in 1993 alone, with around 4,000 cars and containers being robbed to the tune of 11.5 billion rubles [R]. In the first half of last year there were attacks on 458 trains and cars and containers were robbed to the tune of over R7 billion.

It has also been frequently mentioned that during its lifetime the Dudayev regime issued fake bank payment orders to the value of R10 trillion, which went all over Russia. And now Dudayev is threatening the state leaders of neighboring republics and indulging in blackmail involving nuclear terrorism. I am deliberately dwelling in such detail on the criminal nature of the Dudayev regime because some people are trying to portray him as some kind of martyr or national hero. The Chechen criminal community exerts a negative influence not only in its own republic but also in many big administrative and industrial cities in the Russian Federation. Outside Chechnya there is a total of more than 60 groups with around 2,000 active members. They have a dominant position in Moscow.

[Kapkov] Questions arise as a result of the events in Chechnya: "Why did they become possible?" Why did the attempts made by the central authorities to secure the necessary conditions to restore legality and peace in the Chechen Republic—starting with the Appeal from the Fifth Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies and ending with the 1 December 1994 Russian Federation Presidential Edict "On Certain Measures To Strengthen Law and Order in the North Caucasus"—not lead to a positive result?

[Ilyukhin] There are many reasons. These include the inconsistency of nationalities policy, the absence of a universal program for federal organizational arrangements, and many other factors. And from time to time this kind of policy suited the country's entire criminal community. But there is another scary thing. An extract from an analytical memorandum by the American Heritage Foundation, which has a branch in Russia, concedes that the broadening of markets and of U.S. access to sources of raw materials could cause military conflicts. So the Chechen conflict, behind which lay a struggle for a definite market, was no surprise to many people. In this connection the Foundation concludes: "No organization, including the United Nations, must have a right of veto over the sovereign decisions of the U.S. Government. Any foreign policy actions in keeping with U.S. national interests, including the use of armed force, must be taken irrespective of whether the United Nations agrees to them or not."

[Kapkov] But we have special agencies which should be involved in stopping encroachments of this kind....

[Ilyukhin] We do indeed, but what does that mean? The Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs with its

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troops armed with the most modern army weapons has turned into an enormous monster capable of devouring the whole of society. Today there are already 14 different special services and power structures (the Federal Counterintelligence Service, the Main Protection Directorate, the Main Intelligence Directorate, and so forth) are asking to be granted the right to conduct investigative operations against Russian citizens. It is no secret that some of these bodies have long been carrying out these measures without possessing such a right. Leaders of political parties and movements and active representatives of the opposition have always been in the sights of the "cloak and dagger" knights. But what's the point? Have business and citizens become reliably safer as a result?

[Kapkov] What is the lawmaking "factory," so to speak, like; what obstacles have to be overcome if there are such frictions even on a minor issue?

[Ilyukhin] Many deputies don't even bother to conceal their involvement in dubious lobbying. But everybody who wants to work honestly to strengthen our country's might has lost patience with the legal chaos. The economy, business, enterprise, and personal protection need a firm legal foundation. This is why the draft laws "On Combating Corruption" and "On Combating Organized Crime" were among the first promulgated by our Security Committee. Unfortunately their adoption is often blocked in the State Duma—and pretty vigorously—by the "Russia's Choice" faction and the Zhirinovskiy faction. It is their resistance which now needs to be overcome.

We sharply opposed dirty business based on deception of people and the state. Commission members D. Filimonov and myself submitted a draft new criminal code containing an entire section comprising articles concerned with responsibility for violating the law in this sphere. The draft passed its first reading in the Duma. This is gratifying. We have now also had the first reading of the draft law "On Combating Organized Crime." Judging by the responses from Ministry of Internal Affairs experts, this draft has been well worked out and will make it possible to halt and ultimately gain control over criminal formations and establish criminal responsibility for involvement in criminal communities. Incidentally, the pre-1917 criminal code stipulated such a norm. And it is symbolic that Russian traditions like this are coming in to replace our legislative fuzziness. And the main thing is that adoption of the law would undermine the economic foundation of the growth of organized crime in the country. It was evidently with these qualities of the draft law in mind that Russian First Deputy Minister of Internal affairs Mikhail Yegorov asked the leaders and members of the "Yabloko" and "Russia's Choice" factions, who had previously abstained, to support it in the State Duma.

Media Issues

CPRF Leader Zyuganov Meets With Press

954F1598A Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No 8, 23 Feb-1 Mar 95 p 12

[Article by Anna Mazepa: "Tied Tongues"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Birds make nests and politicians build images. That is always the way it has been in spring everywhere. Nature has also not left Russia out this time: A week does not pass by now that we, workers of the domestic mass media, do not receive declarations of love from well-known politicians who announce their own election ambitions. Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF], has just performed the role of a person passionately in love with journalists.

At a recent meeting with the press in the capital's House of Journalists he declared that "when it is said that the mass media is the fourth estate, this is inaccurate." In his opinion, the mass media is "the first, second, third, and fourth estates all together." Well, tell me what heart would not quiver after such an acknowledgement.

Developing the thought, Zyuganov gave the highest marks to the mass media: "If you received some kind of law in the morning and in the evening a handsome announcer and very competent journalist appears on the screen and smears this law, it will never be put into effect. If the executive authority insists on conducting specific measures for stabilization and the next day a whole series of articles appears in these newspapers against these measures, stabilization will die at its inception. And things like this happen here more often than not."

The mellifluous current of words of the chief communist of the country overwhelmed the spirits of the attentive journalists and demanded the venting of positive emotions. And how! "I personally take the mass media very seriously. I understand that without their positive role it is impossible to get out of the present difficult crisis," Comrade Zyuganov assured. "If the authorities do not present a reasonable normal program and the technology for its implementation, and then do not mobilize the press to report its positions to the people, not one of the serious, stabilizing reforms can be implemented. Not in any country." It suddenly turned out that Gennadiy Andreyevich knew exactly what the drama of the recent 10 years consists of—the party position with respect to the mass media: "At first, there was a very tough party position that was directed at the suppression of any dissent. Today, there is a no less tough and organized position when journalists' tongues are tied economically, or when criminal pressure is brought to bear. All this engenders problems in society that are even greater than those that existed before."

Comrade Zyuganov believes that the right of equal access to the mass media for everyone who desires it

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should be regulated by law. The sense of the idea is that everyone should have the opportunity to present his point of view to the press, and then "the people will choose." There was no end to the indignation of the chairman of the Communist Party, when he recalled that absolutely no such law exists now, and those now appear on the screen and in newspaper columns who do not enjoy any popularity among the people. As an example, he cited Yu. Chernichenko, who recently returned to the program "Selskiy Chas": "What can a peasant, for example, choose in this case? People in the villages of the Russian Federation cannot stand Chernichenko!... Is this really the way to treat our own peasants? This could only have been done to abuse the peasants."

At the end of the meeting Comrade Zyuganov, the "defender of journalists and peasants," reported that, within the scope of his own preelection campaign he intended to run for the Russian presidency from a coalition of national-patriotic forces, in connection with which he considers it his duty as a citizen to tell the journalists about an important matter—his attitude toward alcohol. It turned out that although he personally has never abused it, he thinks that "it is necessary to fight against alcoholics and not alcohol. There will never be any well-being in a home in which a drunkard drinks and filches everything on earth. Alcohol has been viewed in different ways in our country, but I do not know even one people who live on the territory of Russia, not one family, not one village where alcohol would be encouraged and propagandized. It is always a calamity and a misfortune.

"A medical commission should be established in the country that has the right to certify any official. If we succeed in coming to power, one of our first and main tasks will be to change the constitution concerning the election of the president not through direct elections but by electors, as occurs in each of the 23 states that have a national-federative structure. The president falls under the control of an assembly of electors who, without any referendum, can recall him if he works poorly, or, God forbid, drinks."

And with this they parted—Zyuganov and the journalists.

EU Countries' Press Attaches Meet Journalists

MM2203114695 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 22 Mar 95 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Contacts" rubric: "Diplomats Exchange Opinions With Journalists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Press attaches of the EEC countries' embassies met with the leaders of the Russian media at the Russian Committee for the Press for the first time. This meeting was organized by Committee Chairman Sergey Gryzunov. The press announcement circulated last Saturday [18 March] regarding the upcoming entry into force of the Schengen Convention, which simplifies the procedure for journalists to cross state borders, was the reason for the conversation between the diplomats and journalists. The meeting showed that EEC countries' embassies are keeping an extremely attentive eye on the political intrigue surrounding the formation of the information climate. While fully appreciating the worry regarding the state of freedom of speech, diplomats are nevertheless concerned by the latest "chill" in relations between the press and the authorities ahead of Russia's approaching elections.

New Public TV Director General Interviewed

LD2103085395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0739 GMT 21 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Andrey Varlamov, Vasily Golovnin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tokyo March 21 TASS—Sergey Blagovolin, new director-general of the Public Russian TV, supports the previous scheme of turning it into a joint-stock company and is not going to pay special attention to his personal security. He believes, one and the same place cannot be hit by two shells one after another. He said it in an ITAR-TASS interview in Tokyo, from where he flew to Moscow today.

Sergey Blagovolin, member of the Presidential Council, doctor (master) of economy and former deputy director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations under the Russian Academy of Sciences, was appointed to this post by the board of directors of the Public Russian TV on Monday. His predecessor Vladislav Listyev was killed on March 1, this year, by unidentified criminals at the entrance of the house were he lived.

"I was very much surprised, when I was offered the post of director-general. Previously it was intended that I would handle the sector of political analysis at the Public Russian TV. I got the proposal when I was in Tokyo, where I was taking part in a Russian-Japanese symposium. I was thinking hard for four days whether I should agree or not. Finally I came to the conclusion that I cannot say no. There has remained since Soviet times the commonly used phrase: 'This must be done.' However, I still feel stunned and cannot get accustomed to the new situation," Blagovolin said.

Responding to a question about his plans for the future, he said he had no special plans so far. "In the sphere of political analysis, which is an important part of the structure of the Public Russian TV, I think the most important thing is to be frank with people, because it is only on this condition that they will listen to us. Our public has been fed of late on some imitation of the truth, and this is being done by both sides." On the whole, the new director general wants to make the Public Russian TV free from "trite and outdated approaches" and to rely on true facts.

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Blagovolin said he was not going to give up his post at the Presidential Council. "I believe the combination of the two posts might be very useful. I could play a positive role in the council, holding the new post at the same time."

According to Blagovolin, he has started already to take on new staff members for the Public Russian TV. He said he had got the agreement of "very skilled persons." So far as his personal security is concerned, he intends to stick to his previous life style, despite the tragic death of his predecessor Vladislav Listyev.

Mir Broadcasting Company Set To Expand

LD1803224095 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1645 GMT 18 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Another news conference was held this Saturday [18 March]. It was devoted to the expansion of broadcasting by the Mir Television and Radio Company. Mayak correspondent Igor Ternyavskiy attended the news conference:

[Begin recording] [Ternyavskiy] It is worth recalling that the Mir TV and radio company was founded following a decision of CIS heads of states in October 1992. The agreement to that effect was signed by nine states. The number is now increasing to 10, since Georgia is joining Mir. What then is the Mir TV and Radio Company? It is an opportunity for founder states and regions to state their views when addressing the peoples of virtually the whole of Eurasia. That was said in the press release. So how is the TV and radio company going to expand? Here is its chairman, Gadilbek Shalakhmetov:

[Shalakhmetov] A decision was taken by the Council of Heads of States of the CIS to give Mir a separate channel of its own. This is not some fantasy. If we use satellites as well as receiving and transmitting equipment in the capitals of the founder states of our company, we can do it. We were instructed to proceed in September last year. We concluded a contract on the use of Intelsat-60, which covers, as it were, the territory of all our states, including the Urals and southern Siberia. We shall start broadcasting on separate channels in all the states, including Russia, in large cities of Russia, as well on the existing channels in the other states of the CIS, some time in October-November this year.

[Ternyavskiy] The Mir TV and Radio Company plans to broadcast daily for eight hours on television and for five hours on radio. Moreover, Mir intends to have a button of its own, separate from Ostankino, because it understandably wants to be completely independent in its actions. Who then is financing the TV and Radio Company? This justifiable question was asked by journalists at the news conference. Mir's budget is composed of contributions made by founder states. So far though only 60 percent of its expenses are being paid. But the Mir TV and Radio Company has its own little secrets. Here is Gadilbek Shalakhmetov.

[Shalakhmetov] The company has been given very good rights for an independent financial strategy. The management of the company is using these rights and references [as heard] given to the company. I do not think we need worry about our financial position. [end recording] [passage omitted]

Military, Nuclear & Space Issues

Paper Defends Own Criticisms of Kokoshin

MM2303115495 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Mar 95 First Edition p 2

[Own information report: "Is Army Trading Arms? What Should First Deputy Defense Minister Do? This Was Discussed In Article 'Exchanging Tanks for Bananas'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate reacted to this article with the denial "Does Not Correspond to Reality" (KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 18 March 1995)—this raised more questions than it answered. On "Itogi" Yevgeniy Kiselev also mentioned our article and said that it was allegedly a smear of the Russian defense sector and would prevent Russian weapons from breaking into the world market.

In actual fact the authors of the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA article got the impression that Mr. A. Kokoshin takes part more in weapons "deals" in favor of third countries, visiting all sorts of arms and military hardware fairs, than he is concerned about his own army's armaments. Which, indeed, is what the article was about.

The Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate particularly stresses in its denial that "the Defense Ministry does not trade in weapons and military technologies and its representatives do not take part in any 'deals'." Whose representative then was Andrey Kokoshin who, according to official information published in the same issue of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, "will attend the opening of the traditional arms and military hardware exhibition in the United Arab Emirates"? And anyway, should we dispute the fact that the first deputy defense minister has been extremely active in everything relating more to the jurisdiction of "Rosvooruzheniye" than to intra-Army spheres proper?

Perhaps it would be no bad thing if it clearly benefited the cause of strengthening Russia's Armed Forces. But what is actually the case? An article by Engineer A. Andriyevskiy said that the tragic result of the battles for Groznyy had shown quite clearly how scantily equipped the Russian Army is with the latest weapons and military hardware. Our servicemen see such things only on TV screens during reports from various fairs and exhibitions such as the one currently under way in Abu Dhabi.

The main question raised by the ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA article was—where are the world-beating Russian weapons which we are supposed to have but seem to

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be lacking? Incidentally, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA regularly reports on unique models of military hardware developed by Russian defense design bureaus. But why does the Russian Federation Defense Ministry's main newspaper not also ask where that hardware is?

The references to the natural and climatic conditions which, in the opinion of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information Directorate, prevented our using state-of-the-art weaponry in Chechnya bring to mind the concepts of "General Mud" and "General Frost." Are we not ashamed on the eve of Victory Day to be using the phraseology of the fascist doctor [Goebbels] (we will not mention his vile name) to defend the honor of A. Kokoshin's uniform—or, rather, his [civilian] jacket.

The entire tenor of the defense of the first deputy defense minister and of the "denial" of the facts in A. Andriyevskiy's article is based on the fact that "it does not correspond to reality." Our author claims that we have long since developed and brought into service the following—precision "smart" weapons systems, guided bombs, effective artillery reconnaissance systems, reliable systems for protecting armored equipment from shaped-charge kill elements, and much else besides, which should have objectively lowered the overall human losses during this conflict. Does none of this "correspond to reality," as the Russian Federation Defense Ministry Information and Press Directorate claims? So what does correspond to reality?

Clearly, Engineer A. Andriyevskiy is right when he says that "ideal conditions have been created for Andrey Kokoshin's work, even freeing him from friendly criticism...." It is not surprising that the quite natural questions which are currently being put to many military men produce a simply inappropriate response from the civilian deputy minister. It turns out that in its article ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA was demeaning through Mr. Kokoshin "servicemen in (all) branches of the Armed Forces and Russian weapons developers" as well as the entire Defense Ministry en masse along with the General Staff and—most surprising of all—"officers in the troops"!

Does Andrey Afanasyevich really suffer so much from folie de grandeur that he identifies with the entire Russian defense complex, including "officers in the troops"? Is he really confident that leading defense complex enterprise directors love him so much?

We by no means intend to exert negative pressure on the public and deputies "in favor of the redistribution of powers and resources to the detriment of the Armed Forces." On the contrary, we join the author of the article in regretting that Mr. A. Kokoshin, "whose official duty it is to primarily give due consideration to reequipping our Army with world-beating Russian weapons, has completely forgotten this duty...."

Maybe it would really be worthwhile for the Defense Ministry to think about "redistributing powers" and relieving Andrey Afanasyevich of certain honorary representative functions at any "fairs or exhibitions"—all the more so as the military, as we understand it, do not engage in "deals." He should "develop and promote state-of-the-art weapons systems" solely in the interests of Russia above all. Otherwise the question of who we are developing missiles for and whether we are producing them at all will remain open.

Radioactive Waste Burial Planned at Krasnoyarsk Site

LD2003093095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0618 GMT 20 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 20 TASS—Russia will build an underground burial for solidified radioactive waste from 2035-2050. The burial will be located close to the mining and chemical facility Krasnoyarsk-26, facility deputy director told ITAR-TASS.

The deadline for the project is far removed because glass-encapsulated radioactive substances must be buried underground for 30-40 years in order to "cool down". For the duration of the "cool down" period, the waste will be stored in stainless-steel six-metre high containers, ten metres in diameter, in a special concrete installation.

Currently geologists are surveying the terrain to choose a proper place for the future burial, Anatoliy Romashov said. Preparatory work had to be suspended because of the underfinancing but after 500 million roubles were mustered, work resumed this year. The total cost of the construction project is estimated at about 1.5 billion dollars.

Three locations are now being considered for the burial. All of them are within a five-kilometre radius with the mining and chemical facility in the centre. This will cut down the cost of transportation.

The location must meet strict requirements: its geological record must date back millions of years without any changes. In addition the granite matrix must measure some 2.5 kilometres in depth and 4-5 kilometres in diameter.

Four Scenarios Given for Nonproliferation Future

LD2303094195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0921 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Olga Semenova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—The Russian Foreign Intelligence Service believes the future of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty may go along four scenarios and welcomes only those which envisage its prolongation.

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The report of the intelligence service made public by its director Evgeniy Primakov on Thursday [23 March] and headlined "the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. Prolongation problems" is timed to the international conference which is to open in New York on April 17 to discuss the future of the treaty.

The four scenarios listed by the report are:

1. Termless prolongation of the treaty,

2. Prolongation for a considerable period of time,

3. The division of the prolongation procedure into certain time limits **5-10 years** with each prolongation being linked to concrete commitments mostly of the nuclear powers,

4. No positive results.

The report stressed that Russia believes the first variant to be ideal, but can accept also the second one.

The third scenario is unacceptable for Moscow as it creates additional problems. Thus, it will be necessary at the end of each time limit to create a decision-making mechanism. Besides, the variant makes the important treaty dependant on additional agreements.

The fourth variant is the worst, according to the report. The treaty is not perfect, but it is "the backbone of the world non-proliferation regime" and its prolongation is the major condition for strategic stability, the document says.

Primakov Talks About Nuclear Nonproliferation

LD2303132895 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 95

[From the 'Vesti' newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] In the wake of an international conference on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, which is to be held in New York in April, top officials of the Russian foreign intelligence service met with journalists. The head of the intelligence service, Yevgeniy Primakov, said that the nonproliferation treaty should be extended indefinitely. If there was no such treaty, there could have been 20 countries with nuclear weapons now. According to the service, Iran's abilities in developing nuclear weapons are limited and even if foreign aid and generous financing were to be provided, this would still require at least 10 years. Following UN demands and activities of Ekeus' commission, Iraq halted its nuclear program, the leadership of the foreign intelligence confirmed. Commenting on the threats to leave the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, made by some Arab countries in connection with the fact that Israel unofficially possesses nuclear weapons and refuses to join the treaty, Primakov said that the peace process should prompt Israel to change its position. This is possible in principle, and the fact that South Africa decided to denounce its nuclear weapons and dismantle its explosive devices, proves this. Top officials of the service believe that the IAEA should step up the monitoring of nuclear activities of various countries. Apart from this, the world community should consider setting up mechanisms for additional monitoring.

Kosmos Satellite Blasts Into Orbit 22 Mar

LD2203192595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1857 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Gritsenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 (TASS)—Russia made on Wednesday [22 March] the 2660th space launch since the beginning of the space era.

The Soyuz-U booster rocket carrying a Kosmos satellite blasted off at 19:43 Moscow time from the Plesetsk cosmodrome. The launch was made in the interests of the defence ministry.

Colonel-General Vladimir Ivanov, who supervised the launch, told ITAR-TASS that the launch was monitored by military observers and air force attaches from about 50 countries.

Earlier today, Russia put on Irbit another satellite, Kosmos-2310, for the defence ministry.

The satellite was launched with the following parameters:
period of revolution—105.1 minutes;
orbital inclination—82.9 degrees;
maximum distance from earth—1,024.1 kilometers;
minimal distance from earth—996.4 kilometers.

Military Satellite Placed in Orbit; Parameters Given

LD2303113895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0745 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS freelance correspondent Viktor Gritsenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 23 Mar—The "Cosmos-2311" satellite launched by the Russian Military Space Forces (MSF) on 22 March has been successfully placed in an orbit with the following parameters, close to the planned ones: initial period of revolution - 89.6 mins; orbital inclination - 67.2 deg; apogee - 359.4 km; perigee - 179.7 km.

The satellite will be used in the interests of the Russian Federation Defense Ministry. The "Cosmos-2311" is the 1,845th satellite launched from the Plesetsk cosmodrome and the 2,980th launched by Russia (the USSR) since the beginning of the space age. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told this at the MSF press center today.

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Federal Assembly

Federation Council Approves Law on Federal Budget

LD2203141495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1356 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondents Lyudmila Yermakova and Andrey Serov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The Council of the Federation today approved after a lengthy debate, which began on Tuesday, the law on Russia's federal budget for 1995. The upper chamber's the budget and financial committees was instructed to finalise the council's resolution, which contains several recommendations to the Russian Government.

The positive decision, in spite of several harsh criticisms, was apparently adopted under the influence of the statement made by First Vice-Premier Anatoliy Chubays, who took the floor during the session. He stressed that "the majority of the problems, which came to light during the debate, can be resolved on the basis of the draft budget". He expressed regret that many of them were not raised during the preceding meetings of the State Duma, where the document was discussed for several months running. He self-critically admitted that "the cabinet has committed a mistake by adhering to the formal procedure of the budget's discussion: Government—State Duma—Federation Council". In his opinion, the members of the upper chamber should have been enlisted in this process more actively and at an earlier stage. Nevertheless, the government will try to take into account all the most important remarks of the MPs in its subsequent decisions.

Chubays said that the most important part of the new budget, as distinct from previous documents of this kind, was its revenues chapter, not the expenditures section. He noted that the 1995 budget "is marked by an absolutely new approach to the execution of the revenues chapter, and it is most important that this work is already under way". Chubays mentioned several measures, which have already yielded trillions of roubles. This money will be used to aid Russia's farmers, miners, and victims of the Chernobyl disaster. "The government will follow them up with other measures, pertaining to the alcoholic drinks market, the diamond sector, the gold market, and the taxation policy," he promised. "This will help us increase the revenues chapter through realistic actions," he added.

The first vice-premier reviewed paragraph by paragraph the federation council's draft resolution on the state budget law. He said that "some financial schemes could be corrected without ruining the budget".

Dudayev May 'Lose Control' Over Military by May

LD2203140095 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1241 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Pavel Kuznetsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Mar—Dzhokhar Dudayev believes that he will lose control over the actions of military formations loyal to him by May. This was reported today at a briefing at the Russian Federation State Duma by deputy Lev Ponomarev, who had met Dudayev in Chechnya on 20 March.

The parliamentarian noted that he met Dudayev to pass on a plan for the peaceful settlement of the situation in Chechnya, which had been developed at the recently held conference "Peace Initiative in the Caucasus." He gave his impression of the meeting.

According to him, the talk lasted two hours. Dudayev was sceptical about the new plan but accepted the first point of the plan as the only option, according to which peaceful talks should start between representatives of the federal authorities and Dudayev's administration.

However, stressed Lev Ponomarev, the talk very rapidly turned into a one-and-a-half hour monologue by Dudayaev. "This is a leader, noted the deputy in this connection, that talks more than he listens." He noted that from this standpoint he "could compare Dudayev only to Fidel Castro."

Lev Ponomarev reported that the meeting took place in one of the Chechen villages in "a far from luxurious house," with the necessary conspiratorial measures. He also said that he had brought two letters from Chechnya from Dudayev to Ramazan Abdulatipov, deputy chairman of the Federation Council, who is also the chairman of the coordination council of the conference "Peace Initiative in the Caucasus." The contents of one of them, according to Lev Pomomarev, show that Dudayev is ready for peace talks without preconditions. The deputy gave the second, a "personal letter" from Dudayev to Ramazan Abdulatipov, to the vice speaker of the Federation Council.

Duma Deputy Claims Dudayev Received Arms From Iran, Turkey

LD2203145995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1436 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The Russian Defence Ministry's chief intelligence service has information about deliveries of arms to Dudayev forces in Chechnya from Turkey and Iran, Duma Deputy Mikhail Burlakov told the lower house of the Russian federal legislature today [22 March].

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Burlakov provided no facts or other proof of his words.

Burlakov is known to have access to various confidential information as a member of the house commission in charge of investigation of the causes and circumstances of the Chechnya conflict.

At today's plenary session of the State Duma, Burlakov proposed commissioning respective house committees with the investigation of the matter.

His proposal, however, failed to muster the required number of votes to be put on the agenda.

Regional Affairs

Yeltsin Welcomes 'Caucasus Peace Initiative' Forum

MM2103143595 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 Mar 95 p 3

[Text of "President's Address to Participants in the 'Caucasus Peace Initiative' Conference," dated 14 March 1995: "Democracy Is Viable Only When It Can Guarantee Statehood"]

[FBIS Translated Text] I appeal to you, as participants in the "Caucasus Peace Initiative" conference, in the hope that your efforts to find a solution to the lingering Chechnya crisis will bear fruit and that your conference will trigger other peace initiatives and help the people of Chechnya to revive their republic in the paths of legality and law and order, restore their economy, destroyed by the Dudayev regime, and rescue Chechnya from the abyss into which it was plunged by that regime.

The process of restoring normal life and the institutions of power which has begun in Chechnya is in dire need of support. Illegal armed formations continue to operate on Chechen soil, trying to drag into the conflict cities and villages not only in Chechnya but also neighboring regions. The situation remains difficult. This is what lends such great importance today to the words of politicians, academics, religious and other public figures, and figures from the world of culture—everyone who can really help to overcome the crisis, which has become a grievous trial for our young democratic state system.

Democracy is viable only when it can guarantee statehood and defend the country's unity and indivisibility. Democracy does not promise citizens an easy life or deliver them from problems, but it must defend and guarantee observance of the Constitution and legality.

Forums such as yours are a manifestation of the right of citizens to control state affairs, including the solution of crises and conflicts, and enable that right to be embodied in specific, practical initiatives.

I wish participants in the conference success in their work.

[Dated] 14 March 1995

Reportage, Commentary on Conflict in Chechnya

Upcoming Chechnya Elections Viewed

954F1827A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Mar 95 pp 1-2

[Article by Natalya Pachegina, under the heading "Chechen Republic": "Chechnya Makes Ready for Elections. There Will Be No Tranquil Life"]

[FBIS Translated Text] An end to the war in Chechnya, if one is to believe the calculations of the Russian Ministry of Defense, is not far off. Without calling into question the authority of the military department, today is a good time to speak about the future of the republic, which free democratic elections await. It was for the sake of this measure, it must be supposed, that the operation to restore the constitutional order in the Chechen Republic was undertaken.

Meanwhile, in expectation of this event, it would be useful to note the substantial changes that have taken place in Chechen society since the moment that Russian troops were brought onto the territory of the republic. First of all, the once multinational Chechnya has in a comparatively short time become practically mononational: Emigration of the Russian population—the republic's second national majority—with the beginning of military operations there began to resemble an exodus. It should be acknowledged that even during Dudayev's time, despite the regime's propagandistic declarations, representation of Russians, and of other peoples as well, in the organs of legislative and executive power of Chechnya was purely symbolic (in the parliament of the Chechen Republic, without manifesting any outstanding civil position, one Russian worked, and that was before the events of 1993). The capable Russian—mainly urban—population of the republic left it in numbers proportional to the destruction of production. The war forced the departure of the last of the Russians, who, in contradistinction to the Chechens, did not have relatives and the chance to subsist in the rural areas. So that today, the potential voters in the upcoming elections could chiefly be Chechens.

However, Chechen society has also, with the start of military operations on the territory of the republic, undergone significant changes. Political struggle has become the pursuit of many. Before that, the regime, very zealously guarding the circle of those elected, contented itself with a rather limited number of local "politicians" (a vivid example in this sense is presented by the Chechen period of the activity of Ruslan Khasbulatov, who, despite his high political and national authority, was never admitted to the helm of power in Chechnya). The anti-Dudayev opposition, which was composed, even before the war, of fairly incidental people, with the beginning of the war, one could say, self-destructed and disintegrated, as they say, according to their interests. Not the least of these, I suspect, were again the upcoming elections. Before that, it seems, the

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three years of the Dudayev regime had not greatly traumatized the moral feelings of the people who have now begun vying to outtalk each other about the destruction of the Chechen people and its spiritual values. Not too long ago, some of them were prepared for cooperation with "the first president of Chechnya, elected by the people"; some limited themselves to moderate criticism of Dudayev, not calling into question the main ideological thesis of Groznyy—on the sovereign, independent Chechen state. And only the war, which shook Dudayev's throne, made the Chechen politicians become forthright. But again, all of them, before beginning to speak in their homeland, test out their voices in Moscow, searching for patronage here, and not among the voters of Chechnya.

So who among them could seriously count on success, which the Kremlin would also count as "its"?

One thinks that the preeminent figure in Chechnya should even today be considered the elusive Dzhokar Dudayev. Three probable scenarios of his future (emigration into a third country, physical isolation by means of arrest by the Russian Federal Counterintelligence Service, violent death or death in battle), of course, do not wipe out the idea, attractive for Chechen society, of Chechen statehood. It is clear that with time, a force will arise capable of advancing a new "Dudayev," and his successors at the head of Chechnya will have to balance between loyalty to Moscow and the moods of that portion (as we see by the war period, no small portion) of the Chechen electorate that is barely stopped by the physical death of its symbol. It is also clear that in the latter two scenarios, the first president of Chechnya is destined to become an epic hero. And alive, he obviously wins against the backdrop of the other contenders for power: In the most moderate of his announcements, one hears a completely sober theme, one that cannot fail to elicit sympathy—"sovereign Chechnya—a good and peaceful neighbor to Russia." And the military defeat of Chechen society, taking into account the psychological peculiarities of the mountain people, only strengthens the idea—true, now without the kindly disposition toward its neighbor.

To the latter it seems that the Kremlin must be prepared for this as well—the real victor at the elections in Chechnya could become Ruslan Khasbulatov, to whom the federal power is allergic. His victory is probable because, first of all, he is not a participant in the military incursion; second, he has always distanced himself both from Dudayev and from the opposition, playing the safe role of peacemaker; and third, he has an heroic political past on the Russia-wide scale, which is valued as before in Chechnya.

Other Chechen politicians, for various reasons, will hardly comprise in themselves competition to the first two, no matter what kind of sums are spent on their paths to power in the republic. Already today, their names are so devalued in their homeland that no monetary infusions, which, by the way, Russia does not have in the first place, will help to organize an "image." In the event of the victory at the polls of this level of Chechen politician, Moscow should expect nothing better than blackmail. And such relations, as is known, oblige one to be rich.

It is not inconceivable that during negotiations between local authorities and the Russian military command on the subject of cease-fire in this or that population point in Chechnya, a fresh layer of social activists will come to light. But in the time remaining until the elections, the new-found "saviors" of the Chechen people are hardly likely to succeed in gaining solid political weight, and a spontaneous movement does not promise qualitative results.

So Chechnya, in which by pure chance, civil war has not begun (this is symptomatic for Russia, which, despite all the contradictions within Chechen society, is as before viewed in Chechnya as its basic opponent and the culprit of all its past and current misfortunes), is preparing for elections. Their result, it seems, cannot guarantee in the future a tranquil life first of all for the mother country.

Moscow Conference Proposals for Chechnya

MM2203095695 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 21 Mar 95 p 3

["Plan for the Stage-By-Stage Settlement of the Chechen Crisis" proposed by the "Caucasus Peace Initiative" conference]

[FBIS Translated Text] The plan for the stage-by-stage settlement of the Chechen crisis consists of the following stages:

—the cessation of hostilities;
—the implementation of humanitarian actions;
—the transition to a peaceful settlement of the conflict;
—a peaceful settlement within the Chechen Republic;
—the preparation and signing of a Treaty on the Demarcation of Powers between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic.

The first three stages of the settlement involve the participation of a group of mediators consisting of Federal Assembly deputies, heads of the organs of power of components of the Federation, and representatives of public humanitarian and civil rights organizations. At the same time an all-Chechen roundtable conference is prepared to settle the crisis and clear up the aftermath.

The mediators are to work in close contact, exchanging objective information and observing the actions of the sides in the settlement of the military conflict.

It is proposed that the Russian Federation Government recognize the events taking place in the Chechen Republic as an "armed conflict of a noninternational character."

1. The Cessation of Hostilities

In this stage the talks may be between representatives of the federal armed forces and the armed formations

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under D. Dudayev's command. During the talks, D. Dudayev's side must clearly designate the zone within which it assumes responsibility for implementing the timetable for the cessation of hostilities, monitoring the volunteer detachments and other armed groups which oppose the federal troops, and other steps envisaged by this section of the Plan.

Talks with the armed groups and their commanders who refuse to submit to the orders of the leadership of the armed formations under D. Dudayev's command may take place outside the framework of this Plan. Both sides must give prior notice of military actions against such groups.

The cessation of hostilities consists of the following stages:

1. The creation of a Military Commission consisting of representatives of the federal troops and representatives of the armed formations under D. Dudayev's command.

2. The immediate cessation of missile and bomb attacks by aviation and of the use of all types of artillery, tanks, and other armored equipment, grenade launchers, and rockets of all types. The large-scale use of small arms designed to enable one side or the other to achieve tactical superiority in individual areas of contact is also banned. The sides undertake a commitment to bring about a complete cease-fire, including all types of small arms, as soon as possible and create a control mechanism for observing this condition. Federal military aviation is to refrain from low- altitude flights over population centers; armed formations under D. Dudayev's command, in turn, are to refrain from the use of anti- aircraft defense systems.

3. The opposing sides are to withdraw their armed forces to mutually agreed lines separated from one another by a distance secure against all small arms.

4. D. Dudayev's command is to establish control over the volunteer detachments within its zone of responsibility and ensure the fulfillment by them of the agreed measures including the surrender of weapons under the Military Commission's supervision.

5. Until the full settlement of the armed conflict the representatives of the federal armed forces are to ensure the safety of the self-defense detachments operating together with local law enforcement organs. This protection will be provided in population centers.

6. Throughout the territory of the conflict heavy military hardware and large troop units may only be moved with both sides' prior notification of the route and purpose of such movements. The redeployment of troops and military hardware aimed at sharply changing the balance of forces as a whole or in individual areas of the conflict zone is banned. Disputes must be submitted to the examination of the Military Commission with the mandatory participation of the mediators' group.

7. The complete cessation of hostilities and of fire from all types of firearms and the surrender of arms under the Military Commission's supervision must be carried out according to the mutually agreed schedule.

8. Combined patrols are to be created to maintain order in the disengagement zones between the opposing sides for the transitional period. The composition and procedure for the formation and functioning of these patrols shall be determined by the Military Commission.

II. Consolidation of the Cease-fire and Priority Humanitarian Measures

1. The solution of the question of heavy arms which are in the possession of the armed formations under the control of D. Dudayev's command. They may be surrendered in the agreed manner at the places stipulated by the two sides under the supervision of the Military Commission and the mediators' group.

2. The commencement of mine clearance operations by area and by building. The exchange of charts compiled by each side showing the mines left on the territory controlled by the opposing side.

3. The implementation of large-scale humanitarian actions and the organization of vital services for all population centers of the Chechen Republic.

4. The removal of corpses and the evacuation of the wounded.

5. The evacuation of the civilian population who want to leave the conflict zone.

6. The mutual exchange of prisoners between the sides according to the "all for all" ["vsekh na vsekh"] principle. At the same time those people detained in screening centers are to be released.

7. Ensuring and supporting people's diplomacy in population centers and villages in the Chechen Republic.

8. The planned withdrawal of combined and other units of the Russian Federation Armed Forces and the Russian Federation Ministry of Internal Affairs released from the territory of the Chechen Republic in connection with the cessation of hostilities.

9. The disarmament and disbanding of all unlawful armed formations on the territory of the Chechen Republic (with the exception of those mentioned in paragraph five, section one) and ensuring the possibility of return to the place of residence and peaceful labor of members of the armed formations in accordance with the Law on Amnesty adopted by the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma.

10. The implementation of a package of measures to ensure the safety of the population including with the involvement of self- defense detachments created for the transitional period by rural communities.

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11. Ensuring the effective activity of representatives of the International Red Cross in the conflict region in accordance with its international mandate.

12. Making good damage and providing social assistance to the civilian population who have suffered as a result of the hostilities.

13. Legislative enshrinement of the rights of civilians of the Chechen Republic who have suffered as a result of the hostilities or before the hostilities commenced and also the creation of the necessary conditions for the return of displaced persons to their permanent abodes in accordance with their wishes.

III. Transition to a Peaceful Settlement

The purpose of this stage is the preparation of peace talks with the involvement of all the interested parties in the negotiation process.

The implementation of this stage is to be ensured by the mediators' group with the assistance of the federal authorities as well as representatives of all the forces present in the Chechen Republic.

The preconditions for the beginning of all-embracing peace talks are as follows:

1. The attainment of an accord on a complete and final renunciation of strong-arm methods of resolving the conflict on condition that all the sides involved in the settlement observe the rights of the individual and of the ethnic, religious, and other groups of the population.

2. The involvement in the peace settlement process of representatives of all influential political and social forces (in the form of the "all-Chechen roundtable").

3. Material and financial support for the efforts to restore a normal life in the Chechen Republic.

IV. Peace Settlement Within Chechen Republic

The peace settlement in the Chechen Republic should be seen as a negotiating process whose forms need to be defined at the preceding stage. No political or social forces in Chechnya can be arbitrarily excluded from the process of a political settlement.

Representatives of the Russian federal authorities should also take part in the talks.

The aim of the talks is to settle the domestic political situation in the Chechen Republic and prepare for the holding of general elections to organs of representative power and local self- government with the subsequent formation of a system of executive power.

V. Holding of Elections

Free elections to representative organs and to state positions defined at the previous stage shall be held throughout the Chechen Republic. When the elections are being held conditions shall be ensured to rule out any strong-arm pressure on voters or to falsify results—to which end the elections will be held with the participation of observers from public organizations, including international organizations.

As a result of the elections in the Chechen Republic legitimate organs of power will be created which will be able to represent the entire population of the Chechen Republic, including in relations with the Russian Federation federal authorities.

VI. The Regulation of Relations Between the Chechen Republic and the Russian Federation

This aim is achieved through talks between the representatives of the newly elected Chechen leadership and the Russian Federation leadership, and by the preparation and signing of a Treaty on the Delineation of Powers, the scope of which will determine the Chechen Republic's status within the Russian Federation. During the talks and in the adopted documents it will be important to guarantee human rights and the rights of ethnic, religious, and other population groups in the Chechen Republic.

A federal program for the long-term comprehensive development of the Chechen Republic's economic and social and cultural spheres, and for cooperation between the republic and all Russian Federation components is in the pipeline.

26 Mar Chechnya Conference Previewed

MK2303103095 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 23 Mar 95 p 2

[Report by Natalya Pachegina under the "Settlement" rubric: "Yet Another Attempt at Resolving Chechen Crisis. Conference in Pyatigorsk Promises To Be Interesting"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A "Conference on Achieving National Accord and Reconciliation in the Chechen Republic"—the first really representative gathering since the start of military operations in Chechnya—will take place in Pyatigorsk 26 March. Expected to come for it are all the leading lights (secular and religious) of Chechen society, and leaders of the Northern Caucasus republics and the federal center. One activist of the meeting, Shmidt Dzoblayev—member of the Public Chamber under the Russian Federation president, leader of the Assembly of the Russian Federation National Democratic and Patriotic Forces—vowed that "the conference has as its task not only to get to one negotiating table the former enemies, but also to elaborate a concrete plan to reconcile the sides"—and, if possible, to agree also on the composition of some legitimate body of power and to give it powers to organize and hold elections for legislative and executive structures controlling the Chechen Republic.

Despite the continuing military operations on the republic's territory, sentiments prevailing in Chechnya and

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surrounding it on the eve of the conference—suffice it to look at the list of participants—are encouraging. First, expected to come to Pyatigorsk are more than 10 field commanders of Dudayev's army who, following exhausting and delicate negotiations with each of them separately, expressed their readiness "to hear what will be proposed to them." Their presence at the conference is a tangible change in the mind-set of, primarily, the federal authority, which only yesterday categorically rejected the possibility of conducting talks with "criminals." This also signifies that Dudayev's "defenses" are vulnerable and short-lived. Another obvious demonstration of the center's flexibility is Ruslan Khasbulatov's name on the list of meeting participants. It appears that the famed Chechen maverick, who recently has been wondering why Moscow has been showing him restraint, is also a concession in a bid to resolve the Chechen conflict. Lesser lights—those opposing Dudayev and led by Umar Avturkhanov—seem to have been so neutralized by Moscow today that they have given up their claims that they know "what is good for the Chechen people." Also among conference participants are Salambek Khadzhiyev, head of the Chechen Republic national revival government; and Nikolay Semenov, chief of the territorial administration of federal organs of power in Chechnya, who is now in the shadows and who is invested with the duty of keeping alive the dying system of the republic rather than with real power. A mediation function in Chechnya hardly makes happy both the mediators themselves and those who could be their voters.

One would like to believe that the policy change marks the beginning of a state strategy in the Northern Caucasus. Those involved in this war, however, seem to believe that Moscow's leniency is prompted by the country's internal and external crisis which has swiftly come into evidence in the course of the three months of the Chechen operation.

Situation in Chechnya's Chernorechye District

LD2103142595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 1900 GMT on 20 March broadcasts a three-minute "special report" for the "Segodnya" program, in which Vyacheslav Grunskiy reports from the front line at the edge of Chechnya's Chernorechye District. Grunskiy says that every night and most days Spetsnaz troops from the Dzerzhinskiy division exchange machine- and submachine-gun fire with Chechen fighters. The war in Chernorechye is conducted with the sides practically never seeing each other, the correspondent says, as both sides tend not to enter one another's territory. The Spetsnaz have surrounded their positions with flares and other mines, so Dudayev's fighters rarely approach, he adds.

A Spetsnaz soldier outlines the troops' role: "Our task is not to allow the bandit groups onto the territory of Groznyy, which has already been liberated by our troops."

Grunskiy reports that many refugees returning home to Chernorechye have problems finding their homes and relatives. Grunskiy comments that children are normally sent to safer areas but it is now difficult to find a safe area in Chernorechye. While Groznyy, some 15 km away, has medical help and markets, there is nothing at all in Chernorechye, Grunskiy says.

In conclusion he states: "War itself has not left here and the government has not yet arrived."

Karasin Expresses Thanks for International Aid

LD2203165695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1919 GMT 21 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondents Valeriy Sevryukov and Vladimir Suprun]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 21 Mar—It is with a feeling of gratitude that Russia is accepting international humanitarian aid for the population of Chechnya, and Russia regards it as important help in its own efforts to get vital activity back to normal and in the socio-economic restoration of this part of the Russian Federation. This was stated at a briefing today [21 March] by Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's Information and Press Department.

Of late, he noted, humanitarian aid has arrived in the North Caucasus from the U.S. Government and from the "World Islamic Appeal" Association. Foodstuffs, children's clothing, and blankets have already been bought with money allocated by the Canadian Government, and are being distributed by the International Red Cross. The Governments of Great Britain and Denmark have reported that they will allocate additional sums for implementing humanitarian actions.

According to the diplomat, Russia is undertaking all the necessary measures to get the efficient reception of foreign humanitarian cargos going through the Ministry for Civil Defense, Natural Disasters and Emergency Situations, and the delivery of it to those who need it. At the same time, he acknowledged that, in view of the emergency situation in Chechnya and in some of the areas adjacent to it, carrying out measures of a humanitarian nature "is beset by problems." In particular, they have complicated the passage of a number of humanitarian cargos on the frontier between Chechnya and Dagestan.

Air Force Denies Nine Aircraft Downed

LD2203120595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1030 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Mar 22 (Interfax)—The Russian Air Force's press center has dismissed as "an invention" Chechen reports that Dudayev gunners have downed three Su-27 planes and six helicopter gunships of the federal forces.

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A statement transmitted by the press center to Interfax says that this information is all the more untrue since Su planes are excluded from combat zones.

The press center also declared that nothing was known as yet about the fate of Nikolay Bairov, an air force pilot whose death sentence, as Dudayev sources put it, has been put into effect. Searches for the pilot "are being continued by appropriate bodies," the statement notes.

The Su-25 fighter, flown by Bairov, was brought down on February 4.

Power Ministry To Restore Chechen Energy System

LD2203205295 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1311 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Ivantsov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 22 Mar—A new department for organizing the restoration of Chechen fuel and energy complex facilities was set up at the Russian Fuel and Power Engineering Ministry. This information was obtained by an ITAR-TASS correspondent this at the information directorate.

Ministry experts believe it was necessary to set up the department because of the large scale of scheduled restoration work at the Chechen fuel and energy facilities damaged during the fighting. According to preliminary estimates, the restoration work will cost some 3,000 billion rubles. At the same time there is a need for more clear-cut cooperation to be established between the fuel and energy complex structures, as well as between the various ministries and departments. These are the priority tasks for the new ministry department.

Mines Wound Ten Soldiers Near Vladikavkaz

LD2203141295 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian at 1400 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A truck of Russia's internal troops exploded today on a minefield near the settlement of Chmi, a few kilometers from Vladikavkaz. As a result of the explosion, 10 soldiers were wounded, and five are in critical condition.

Federal Command Ready To Discuss Chechen Truce

LD2203154195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1404 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow, Mar 22 (Interfax)—The joint federal command in Chechnya declared its readiness to discuss the conditions of truce in the Chechen conflict.

The command press center reported Wednesday that these conditions might include immediate cessation of hostilities, release of all hostages and prisoners, surrender of all heavy and crew-operated weapons, setting up a demilitarized zone in Groznyy, formation of self-defense units in populated centers until viable law enforcement agencies are set up and ban on troops entry of populated areas if these offer no resistance.

The command expressed the hope that "awareness on the part of the opposing side of the reality will facilitate the peace efforts made in February and March" and declared that it "awaits a response to the proposals made during the talks on February 13, 15 and 17."

Grachev Gives Ultimatum to Argun Combatants

LD2203181295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1602 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tbilisi, Mar 22 (Interfax)—Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev said that if the Dudayev fighters in Argun do not lay down their arms, additional steps will be taken to destroy that gang. He said that the federal troops in Chechnya had completely surrounded that strategic town. An ultimatum demanding their unconditional surrender was sent to the enemy fighters there, he said.

Grachev said that Dudayev supporters continue attempts at enmeshing neighboring North Caucasian republics and numerous Moslem countries into the Chechen conflict. According to Grachev, various organizations in Turkey, Pakistan, Afghanistan and Jordan continue their financial and political support for Chechen fighters. He admitted that Dudayev had succeeded in establishing contacts with various nationalistic groupings in Ukraine and Estonia.

Grachev said that the federal troops are in control of the major populated centers and parts of Chechnya. What is certain, he added, is that Dudayev failed in his attempt at breaking Russia's territorial unity.

According to Grachev, the Chechen conflict unmasked numerous top military commanders. Grachev commented on the recent reshuffle in the Defense Ministry and the General Staff by saying that those who do not support the presidential and government policy and, talk more than carry out orders, will be dismissed even if they are deputy ministers or generals.

Execution of Air Force Pilot Not Confirmed

LD2203165595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1626 GMT 22 Mar

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Press reports that Chechen militants executed a Russian military pilot, Major Nikolay Bayrov, whose plane was shot down on February 4 have not been confirmed yet, the press centre of the Russian Air Forces said on Wednesday [22 March].

The press centre also denied reports by Chechen separatist leader Dzhokhar Dudayev's sources that Chechen

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militants had destroyed three russian Su-27 fighter planes and six helicopters, saying they did not correspond to the reality.

The press centre stressed that Su-27 warplanes had not been used in Chechnya.

It said that "nothing is known about the fate of military pilot Bayrov, including to FSK [Federal Counterintelligence Service] officials."

Government Statement Updates Chechnya Situation

LD2203181995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1634 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—The press service of the Russian government issued the following statement on Chechnya on Wednesday:

"According to reports from the mobile information centre, as of 16:00 today, the federal troops completed an operation to encircle illegal armed groups near the town of Argun. Interior ministry troops have blockaded the town from inside.

"At 13:00 the commanders of the armed forces in the Chechen republic issued an ultimatum to illegal armed groups located in Argun, demanding unconditional surrender of weapons.

"Today in Mozdok, the Russian military commanders had a meeting with the members of two commissions—the conciliatory commission for the implementation of the civic accord treaty and an OSCE commission—to discuss the military and political situation in Chechnya and ways to facilitate the soonest possible return to peaceful life and restoration of the republic's economy."

220,000 Refugees Need Immediate Humanitarian Aid

LD2203185795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1746 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vladimir Taranov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees' Regional Envoy to the Russian Federation Juan Amunategui told Russian and foreign journalists today that 220 thousand refugees from the Chechen Republic urgently need humanitarian aid.

The U.N. envoy told the journalists that the U.N. family have published a joint appeal for assistance to persons who had left their homes in Chechnya as a result of the emergency situation which had a reason [as published] in that North Caucasian republic of the Russian Federation.

According to the envoy, the situation in which the refugees find themselves on the territory of the Ingush Republic, Dagestan and North Ossetia continues to worsen. The public facilities that provide temporary accommodation to refugees are overcrowded. Local inhabitants hosting refugees are unable to supply enough food.

In these conditions, the United Nations appeal to the world community to earmark 25 million dollars in the next six months to pay for humanitarian aid to persons suffering from the events in Chechnya.

Five million dollars have already been donated by the United States, France, Sweden, Japan, and Britain, the U.N. envoy said. He expressed the hope that another 20 million dollars would be raised by decision of a meeting of the donor countries scheduled for March 23 in Geneva.

Federal Commander Bans Soldiers' Mothers March

LD2203211195 Moscow Radiostantsiya Ekho Moskvy in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Reports appeared today that General Kulikov, commander of the federal forces in Chechnya, has banned the soldiers' mothers march against the war in Chechnya. Kris Khanter, an organizer of the march, reported to us that despite Kulikov's ban the participants plan to continue their action.

[Begin Khanter recording] They will get together in Nazran in the next few days. As planned, on 25 March they plan to start the march of mothers' compassion from Nazran, the capital of Ingushetia. They want to convey the fact that they are against the war. They demand that the war be stopped immediately. [end recording]

Five Border Guards Wounded in Ambush in Ingushetia

LD2203203395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2021 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—Five Russian border guards were wounded when a Nazran border unit car was attacked on Wednesday near the village of Nesterovskaya in Ingushetia.

At 2:47 p.m., a UAZ-469 car of the Nazran Border Unit came under fire from unidentified attackers waiting in ambush, Russia's Federal Border Service said in a statement.

Lieutenant Viktor Luchnikov and private soldiers Anatoliy Gutorov, Eduard Zhigunov, Vyacheslav Latypov and Ilya Sharonov are now under treatment at the Russian Defence Ministry's military hospital in the North Ossetian capital Vladikavkaz. Their health condition is satisfactory.

According to the Federal Border Service's statement, "this is the third bandit attack at Russian Border Guards

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this year, which was carried outside the zone of military actions, directly on Ingush territory".

The Russian Federal Border Service deems it necessary to declare that despite repeated pledges by the Ingush authorities to assist Russian Border Guards in protecting the border with Chechnya, illegal actions against them continue.

Following the latest bandit attack, the Federal Border Service voices a resolute protest and demands that the republic's leadership put an end to these disgraceful actions and take effective measures to provide appropriate conditions for Russian Border Guards to fulfil their duties.

"Russia's Federal Border Service retains the right to use all the means available to it with an aim to ensure the safety of border troop personnel", the statement said.

At present, measures are being taken to locate the attackers.

Avturkhanov Appointed To Prepare Chechen Elections

LD2303092795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0857 GMT 23 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 23 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin appointed on Thursday [23 March] Chechen opposition head Umar Avturkhanov to draft a new constitution of the rebel republic and prepare free elections there.

A presidential decree received by TASS supports the decision of the Moscow-backed Chechen provisional council headed by Avturkhanov to create a 45-men strong national accord committee.

The press service of the Russian leader explained to TASS that the committee would be headed by Avturkhanov and would work to draft the constitution and prepare elections.

Until the new constitution is adopted the executive powers will be vested with the national revival government of Chechnya headed by Salambek Khadzhiyev.

Chechen Commanders Abandon Shali

AU2303111995 Paris AFP in English 1053 GMT 23 Mar 95

[Report by Sebastian Smith]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Shali, Russia, March 23 (AFP)—Chechen military commanders abandoned their headquarters and withdrew from the self-declared separatist capital Shali early Thursday [23 March] under intense pressure from advancing Russian forces.

The independence fighters' headquarters was apparently abandoned early Thursday and the commanders' whereabouts were unknown.

The area surrounding the headquarters was shredded by shrapnel and littered with broken glass.

Chechen soldiers said they did not know where the headquarters had moved to and there was no sign of the command post in either Avtury or Serzhen Yurt, the two nearest villages behind the front line.

The once thriving town of Shali was deserted, as the last civilians fled, having survived 24 hours of rocket attacks.

The Russian Army pushed to within about two kilometres north of Shali on Wednesday, while planes strafed and bombed the town's exits, making any movement in the area highly dangerous.

Following the advance, Russian troops were in a close semi-circle around Shali, the Chechen stronghold of Argun was surrounded and the city of Gudermes cut off.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Meets Managers of State Enterprises

LD2203141195 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1351 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 22 TASS—"In contrast to those industrial enterprise managers whom I met earlier, you are doing quite well," Russian President Boris Yeltsin said in his opening address to a group of state enterprise managers at today's meeting.

"Your experience is very valuable as an example of pulling enterprises out of crisis independently, without subsidies or centrally sponsored benefits," Yeltsin said.

The president admitted that "this cannot be said about the industry as a whole, because some sectors have yet to join market relations".

The meeting with the president is attended by the managers of the following stock companies: Vladimir Tractor Plant, Moscow Confectionery Factory "Krasny Oktyabr", Yakovlev Design Bureau, Uralmash, Transaero Airlines, State Russian Centre for Nuclear-Powered Ship Building, and some other enterprises.

First Vice-Premier Anatoliy Chubays, Economics Minister Yevgeniy Yasin, the president's aide for economic matters Aleksandr Livshits, and Russia's Acting Procurator-General Aleksey Ilyushenko.

The meeting is being held behind closed doors. Before it began, Aleksandr Livshits told journalists that Boris Yeltsin would probably discuss practical realisation of the economic provisions formulated in the president's annual message to the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation.

The president was also expected to discuss taxation, competition on the domestic market and investments in production, Livshits said.

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Economic Aide Livshits on Recent Presidential Edicts

MK2303104095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 23 Mar 95 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Bekker in the "Details" column: "An Edict Dubbed 'Pet.' Livshits in the Role of Interpreter"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Three months ago SEGODNYA published a report headlined "Taxes Are Not Changed in Mid-Stream." In it, the paper took the liberty of recalling that presidential aide Aleksandr Livshits wrote his doctoral dissertation on Reaganomics and therefore has a right to advise Boris Yeltsin to repeat the accomplishment by U.S. President Reagan, who in his time abolished overnight all breaks for companies and firms. In printing the report, we did not know that at that time preparatory work had begun in the government and the presidential staff on abolishing tax breaks and exemptions in foreign economic activity. The efforts were crowned by Boris Yeltsin's edicts of 28 February and 6 March. Livshits, who has made a considerable contribution to their promulgation, yesterday disclosed some details to participants in the Interaction reform-club.

The presidential aide considers Edict 226, "On Measures to Strengthen Financial Discipline in Executing the Federal Budget," the most important in the series of presidential edicts. The authors and promoters dubbed this document their "pet." Livshits attributed such strong feelings to the fact that the central authority is trying to use this edict to protect the state budget against encroachments by various lobbyists, including from the upper echelons of powers. "The edict is aimed not against the old obstructionist procedures but against the new ones," the aide observed.

The edict builds two defense lines, as it were. First, after the federal budget has been approved, any changes in expenditures may be made exclusively by Boris Yeltsin's edicts indicating a compensating revenue source. In other words, it will be very difficult to push through the government's private decisions to finance some of "its own." The second line of trenches: If "friendlies" make a "pass" at the budget via the presidential staff, a government endorsement in the shape of a decree will be needed for a positive outcome.

At first glance, this scheme has nothing that boggles the mind, but it proceeds from real life, from a knowledge of simple but effective methods employed by the lobbyists. Therefore Livshits considers this mechanism sufficiently reliable. In execution of the edict, the presidential staff, a week later, published two lists of documents which have lost their "privileged" status.

Other 28 February edicts did not receive emotional appraisals from Mr. Livshits. At the same time, the presidential aide sets much store by Edict 220 on natural monopolies, which allows to control the pricing policy by monopolists from fuel and energy, transport, and communications sectors. This edict evokes the civil servant's satisfaction in that it "is fully subsumed in the law of the same name" and therefore now has a "preemptive" character. Livshits finds the edict on state regulation of prices more dubious. It contains a short list of goods produced by monopolists and, in the aide's definition, exotic services (for instance, serviced provided by the ice breaker fleet), which was adopted by a government decree. Livshits' mixed attitude to the edict stems from his concern as to "how these lists will change if other people come in to the Kremlin and the White House." But even today Livshits realizes how difficult it will be to implement this edict, considering the mood of authorities in the regions who are bent on using exemptions to protect their selected spheres of activity. Without methods of force and pressure, Livshits said, federal bodies cannot do anything here.

Edict 244, "On Deeming Null and Void and on Revoking the Decisions by the Russian Federation President Granting Customs Tax Exemptions," which has produced much noise, has two appendices. According to the presidential adviser, although the term of the exemptions was running out, they remained nonetheless, "and people were acquiring them quite easily." Now, however, the final date has been declared: As of 15 May customs tax exemptions will be "buried in oblivion." The government has been instructed within a month to make proposals on procedures for making compensation to those subjects which enjoyed such exemptions. The lists of documents revoked, according to Livshits, "are remarkable in that they are absolutely complete." According to various estimates, this will increase federal budget revenues from 4 trillion to 10 trillion rubles this year. As for the point about compensation, without which, the presidential aide stressed, the edict "simply could have appeared," those wishing to offset their losses are to negotiate the two above-mentioned defense lines of Edict 226 protecting the budget against encroachments.

After such comments by Mr. Livshits it becomes even more understandable why this edict has been dubbed "pet." Participants in the reform-club, with rare unanimity, paid tribute to the authors of the liberal edicts, admitting that Edict No. 226 is really something.

Aide Pavlenko Differs With Optimistic Picture of Economy

MK2303063095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 22 Mar 95 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Bekker under the "Expectations" rubric: "British Economist Optimistic About Russian Reform. Government Analysts Come Up with More Reserved Estimates"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The current state and prospects of the Russian economy are the best since the start of reform. This view was expressed by Richard Layard,

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professor of the London School of Economics, at a news conference yesterday. To substantiate his point of view he cited the following facts. The monthly inflation rate has been falling since last December. The austere financial policy (the money supply effectively did not increase in January- February) gives assurance that the rate of price rises will continue to slide. The Central Bank is confidently controlling the dynamics of the ruble's exchange rate against the dollar. Household incomes have begun rising 10 percent a year in real terms, even if from a low starting point. The production slump has practically stopped over the past two months, its rate sticking at the level of the same months of last year.

Mr. Layard sees the renunciation of inflationary methods of covering the budget deficit and the granting of a standby loan by the IMF as tools that help reform make a promising headstart. The professor includes among important elements of this policy President Yeltsin's political statement at his meeting with Michel Camdessus with regard to the unchanging course toward market-oriented transformations. Mr. Layard thinks that if the current austerity in monetary policy is maintained, production will start growing by year's end because "the economy has bottomed out." To the professor's chagrin, "these trends have been underestimated both in Russia and abroad."

So as not to be seen as an inveterate optimist, the British scientist said that regarding investment the situation remains difficult. It dropped another one-fourth last year. Hence there emerged portfolio investment that is effectively speculative in nature and low prices of the stock of privatized enterprises. The market value of Russia's 200 largest companies was estimated by Mr. Layard at $17 billion or 7 percent of GDP. At the same time, in the United States the same indicator is geometrically greater, whereas in Britain the figure is 103 percent and in Malaysia even 300 percent.

What makes investment in Russia a high-risk business? In an attempt to answer this question the London School of Economics surveyed 20 Western companies that either have direct investment in Russia or operate there as brokers or consultants. The results of the survey are as follows. The most serious factor is legal problems—infringement on shareholders' rights, the imperfection of contract law, and the rules of the game on the securities market. Investment has also been hampered by a high inflation rate, abrupt exchange rate fluctuations, and drawbacks of the tax system. The third most important obstacle is political uncertainty, related fears of nationalization, and skepticism about the future of reform. Mr. Layard singled out a shortage of information about potential business partners as another serious problem. The fifth place is held by the underdeveloped infrastructure and racketeering.

Despite such results of the survey, Professor Layard sees "the light at the end of the tunnel" and urges to see to it that the positive economic trends be sustained. Assessments by Sergey Pavlenko, chief of the government's Working Economic Reform Center (WERC), were much more restrained. He confirmed that a potential for production growth is already discernible, which can be proved by persistent fluctuations (plus-minus 1 percent) around its average rate. According to his forecast, the March inflation rate will be 7.5-8.5 percent, not 4-6 percent, as officials predicted at the end of last year. This is attributable to the slowly subsiding inflationary expectations and oil price liberalization. Mr. Pavlenko pointed out a stabilization in the volume of hard currency sales at the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange. "The Central Bank," he noted, "is gradually devaluing the national currency, using the exchange rate, so as to help domestic exporters offset losses from the abolition of tax and tariff preferences." The WERC chief did not try to conceal his concern over signs of strain on the market for short-term treasury bonds and around it. In April-May the state will have to incur considerable losses as it will start redeeming series of bonds issued to prevent the ruble from collapsing in January. "This will be the moment of truth," Mr. Pavlenko said, indicating that having raised the profitability of the bonds too high, the Finance Ministry will have to channel almost the entire budget revenue to redeem previous bond issues. "This tool works, of course, but it costs the government a pretty penny," the economist concluded.

Economy Seen Close To Bottoming Out

MM2303124495 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Mar 95 First Edition p 1

[Report by A. Yevgenyev: "Beginning of the Year Inspires Hope—January and February Did Not Confirm Pessimists' Forecasts"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia's State Committe for Statistics has prepared up-to-date information on the country's socioeconomic position in January and February. It shows that today's situation differs markedly from that which we observed a year earlier. At that time the crash was deafening—GDP was 17 percent down compared with the beginning of 1993. This year, although GDP has contracted further in relation to the previous January and February, the drop on this occasion was just 4 percent. It may well be that this is not yet "rock bottom," but it is something akin to it.

Losses in industry proved even smaller—2.7 percent. Moreover if differences in the worktime fund are discarded, then February's results exceeded those of January by 4 percent. In a sectoral breakdown for large and medium-sized enterprises the greatest increases came from the chemical and petrochemical industry (108 percent in relation to January and February 1994), ferrous metallurgy (107 percent), and machine building (104 percent). The slump continues in the fuel industry (97 percent), electric power (93 percent), the production of building materials (89 percent), the timber, woodworking, and paper and pulp industry (88 percent), food (85 percent), and light industry (63 percent).

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Unfortunately, output of the majority of foodstuffs declined in January and February compared with the same period last year. In particular this applies to meat, including processed grade I meat offals (69 percent), butter (68 percent), and wholemilk products in milk equivalent (75 percent).

To a large extent this is linked with a reduction in cattle stock. Stock numbers at agricultural enterprises fell in the space of the year by 14 percent. Pig stocks shrank by 18 percent, and those of sheep and goats by 29 percent. However, it is indicative that the reverse trend is characteristic of private farmsteads. Here the proportions of cattle increased from 24 to 27 percent, of pigs from 28 to 32 percent, and of goats from 37 to 44 percent. At agricultural enterprises there has been a significant drop in the production of meat, in gross milk yields, and in the production of hen's eggs, at a time when on the population's holdings and private farmsteads, as a rule, they have increased. Whatever the skeptics may have said, the private sector for all its inadequacies and problems is steadfastly proving its superiority over the state sector.

Russia's foreign trade turnover, including informal trade, increased by 4 percent compared with January-February 1994. In relations with countries of the far abroad exports are estimated at $6.7 billion (a rise of 9.8 percent) and imports at $5.1 billion (a rise of 3.3 percent).

In trade with CIS countries, on the other hand, both exports and imports have fallen (by 2.9 and 7.1 percent respectively). It is essential to note that the volume of crude oil and natural gas in Russian supplies abroad increased to an even greater degree (by 7.2 percent and 14.9 percent respectively).

Relatively high inflation persists. Admittedly, its rates are falling: from 18 percent in January to 11 percent in February. By comparison with the start of last year the population's real income has fallen roughly by 4 percent That is, on the whole Russians have become poorer. The proportion of the population with money incomes below subsistence level increased over the year by 16 percent to a total of people, while actual nominal incomes went up in this period by 208 percent and average wages, according to estimates, rose to R340,000 a month.

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International Affairs

Marchuk, Soskovets Comment on Black Sea Fleet Talks

LD2203180195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1640 GMT 22 Mar 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: compiled by Nikolay Zherebtsov, Andrey Petrovskiy, edited by Vladimir Shishlin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Acting Prime Minister Yevgeniy Marchuk, head of the Ukrainian negotiating team in talks with Russia, is guardedly optimistic about the bilateral talks on the Black Sea Fleet division. He is sure that they proceed normally.

We agreed on the format of further activities and, I believe, progress has been and will be made, he said at a news conference in Kiev.

He explained that the fleet division was a major problem which could not be approached as the setting up of a new military base on another country's soil. In his view, the solution of this issue cannot be "based on international standards alone."

Deputy Defense Minister Ivan Bizhan, a negotiating team member, told Interfax that it was desirable to have a final text of the declaration [on the fleet division] and agree on the conditions under which the Russian Navy would have a base in Sevastopol before the two presidents meet.

Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets, head of the Russian negotiating team, told journalists in Kiev that the talks held in Moscow Monday and Tuesday made it possible to move forward in laying the groundwork for the official visit of the Russian president to Ukraine. He believed that Boris Yeltsin would arrive in Ukraine at the end of April or early in May.

Soskovets described as very important the agreement, signed Monday, on restructuring the Ukrainian debt and emphasized that before the agreement had been worked out, no formula had existed under which Ukraine would pay for fuel supplies and its debts. Now this issue has been essentially resolved, he said.

According to Soskovets, the Crimean situation was not discussed at the talks. He emphasized that Crimea was Ukraine's internal problem.

Soskovets told Interfax that all former USSR republics had understood the need in a common market. He did not think, however, that the economic links had to be restored in the form they existed in the former USSR.

Soskovets believed that integration of Russia and Ukraine was obstructed by absence of an agreement on a customs union. IF Note: The official visit of Oleg Soskovets to Kiev culminated in signing of two intergovernmental agreements Tuesday. Deputy Transport Ministers of Russia and Ukraine Arkadiy Suvorov and Aleksandr Artyomenko [name as received] signed an agreement on highway traffic between the two countries.

Russian Deputy Chairman of the State Defense Industry Committee Gennadiy Voronin and Ukrainian Deputy Engineering, Defense Industry and Conversion Minister Valeriy Pavlyukov signed an agreement on the setting up of an International Aircraft Engines financial and industrial group.

Black Sea Fleet Base at Ochakovo Ceded to Ukrainian Navy

LD2203203595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1717 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SEVASTOPOL, Mar 22 (Interfax)—Commanders of the Black Sea Fleet (BSF) have ceded a BSF base and its infrastructures at Ochakovo (Nikolayev region, Ukraine) to the Ukrainian navy, though the warships were divided on a half-and-half basis, BSF officials told Interfax. The Russian warships have now left for Novorossiisk.

Work is also in progress to hand over a division of river boats based in Ismail (the Danube river, western Ukraine) to Ukraine.

The BSF command is expected to disband the 126th division of the Fleet's land troops deployed outside Simferopol. The force has 200 tanks and 300 APCs.

Crimea Said No Obstacle to Russian Treaty Signing

LD2203143495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1412 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Kutakhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tokyo March 22 TASS—"I do not think the crisis around Crimea will affect to any degree the possible signing of the treaty of cooperation between Russia and Ukraine," the latter country's foreign minister Hennadiy Udovenko told ITAR-TASS today.

The minister who is visiting Tokyo as a Ukrainian delegation member said talks in Kiev with First Vice-Premier of the Russian Federation Oleg Soskovets confirmed his viewpoint.

As concerns Crimea, the Ukrainian minister said it was "Ukraine's internal affair. Of course, we recognise that Russia has its interests in Crimea and take these interests into consideration, but this must not affect the Ukrainian-Russian relationship as a whole as evidenced by the fact of the talks which ended in Kiev on Tuesday. One of the items on the agenda was the creation of industrial-financial groups between Russia and Ukraine".

"Ukraine agreed in principle to a trip of Russian Foreign Ministry officials to Crimea and has maintained contacts

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on this issue with Ambassador Smelyakov of the Russian Federation to Ukraine," Udovenko said commenting on reports that officials of the Russian Foreign Ministry were in Crimea for consultations about dual citizenship.

"It was a coincidence in time that the Russian mission, whose trip was agreed in advance, arrived in Crimea hot on the heels of the Ukrainian Parliament decision on Crimea.

"In the obtaining situation, I think most sensible to halt its activity until the situation calms down," the Ukrainian minister said.

Moroz on Situation in Crimea, Talks With Russia

MK2303062095 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 22 Mar 95 pp 1, 2

[Report by Vladimir Skachko under the "Ukraine" rubric: "The 'Guys' Were Stopped Just In Time. Oleksandr Moroz Respects Crimean Voters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Speaking at a news conference in Kiev, Ukrainian Supreme Council Speaker Oleksandr Moroz only confirmed the existence of a collision that has emerged after the Crimean Constitution and the presidency were abrogated by Ukrainian parliamentarians. On one hand, the Ukrainian leadership appears to have brought the peninsula back into Ukraine's legal framework, but on the other Kiev still finds it hard to provide an effective mechanism for implementing decisions it has made. Answering a question to that effect, Oleksandr Moroz said: "The only criterion of the correctness of decisions on Crimea made 17 March is stability on the peninsula," and all further steps to secure it remain the Ukrainian leadership's key objective. Oleksandr Moroz devoted much time to assuaging Crimean public opinion. In his words, "the Ukrainian Supreme Council did not wish in any way to trample underfoot the self-respect of Crimeans" who voted for incumbent deputies of the Crimean Supreme Soviet and President Yuriy Meshkov. "One should not scoff in any way at the will of Crimean voters," the speaker said, attributing the choice of the peninsula's inhabitants to the fact that "a relevant political force on which people pinned their hopes won" the elections in Crimea, but later failed to deliver the goods.

The same was said about Yuriy Meshkov, who was "elected as people expected him to be." Oleksandr Moroz said that he does not have any personal complaints to make about Yuriy Meshkov, whose legitimacy he does not question either; but he called on everyone to pay attention to the fact that currently the Crimean president is talking about precisely what he was discussing last summer, when he appealed to the Kiev authorities, seeking support for his dissolution of the autonomous peninsula's Supreme Soviet. According to Oleksandr Moroz, the Ukrainian Supreme Council backed the Crimean Supreme Soviet both last September and this time so as to give it an opportunity "to operate, paying no attention to the president."

Yuriy Meshkov, as Moroz put it, is "the mirror of Crimean uncertainty and the imperfection of Crimean legislation," but the sole mechanism of implementing Kiev-made decisions he mentioned was a halt to financing the Crimean presidency. Oleksandr Moroz hinted that Kiev has other methods at its disposal as well, but did not specify which, so the question remains open, particularly because Yuriy Meshkov said back last year that the peninsula has long been living at its own expense, no longer remitting money to the central budget.

Commenting on actions of the Russian consular group, which plans to issue Russian passports in Crimea, Oleksandr Moroz said that "it will not be engaging in what it has been sent there for and will soon go home," because its activity in Ukraine is unlawful. Yuriy Karmazin, chief of the deputy group that was in charge of the Crimean issue at the Ukrainian Supreme Council, added that the activity of the Russian diplomats on the peninsular runs counter to the Vienna convention of 1963.

Regarding the problems of the Black Sea Fleet, Oleksandr Moroz said that the fleet should be regarded as "foreign troops on Ukrainian territory" and that the problem should be tackled precisely in this fashion and be straightened out in a relevant bilateral interstate accord as soon as possible. The speaker expressed his hope that this would soon be done. As indirect proof that his hopes are coming true and an illustration of the Russian stance with regard to Ukrainian decisions on Crimea, Oleksandr Moroz cited the signing of the Ukrainian-Russian agreement on rescheduling the Ukrainian debt to Russia, which was signed on the same day during the Kiev visit by Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets. With regard to local elections in Crimea scheduled for April, Oleksandr Moroz said that they would take place in accordance with Ukrainian legislation, because Crimea has yet to pass a relevant law, while the Ukrainian one, "although it elicits a mixed assessment, is nonetheless already in force."

The Ukrainian politicians' expectation that the Russian authorities will not intervene in the Crimean developments appears to have been correct, because Oleg Soskovets, who arrived in Kiev 20 March, said right at the airport that events in the peninsula cannot affect Ukrainian-Russian talks. During his meeting with Leonid Kuchma, Oleg Soskovets heard the Ukrainian president saying as follows: "We are grateful to Russia for its understanding for Ukraine's internal problems. Particularly so because no one is encroaching on Crimea's autonomy. The guys have simply taken a wrong turn there and we have stopped them just in time."

Ambassador on U.S., Chechnya, Personal Life

WS2303103095 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 16 Mar 95 pp 1,3

["Exclusive" interview with Ukrainian Ambassador to the United States Yuriy Shcherbak by Borys Khandros at

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the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington D.C.; date not given: "Today, They Regard Us as Equal Partners"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The five-story red-brick building is located on M Street in Washington. This is where George Washington used to receive people living in this vicinity and concluded an agreement to buy land for the District of Columbia, where the U.S. capital was later moved. At present, this building hosts the Ukrainian Embassy. Our special correspondent was received by Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Yuriy Shcherbak.

Last time, I met Yuriy Shcherbak in Tel-Aviv last September. He was then the Ukrainian ambassador to Israel. At that time, our conversation took place shortly before his vacation. As far as I can remember, Yuriy Shcherbak had not anticipated any reshuffles. But they did take place.

[Khandros] **Your first days in the position of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United States coincided with the Leonid Kuchma's visit to this country. Looking from the present perspective, how fruitful did that visit prove to be?**

[Shcherbak] Let me say right away that the president's visit was historic not only by its status, but also in its significance. Today, we are regarded as equal partners, underlining that Ukraine holds a key geographical position in Europe and is considerably significant to European security. This was reflected in the documents adopted during the visit, and signed by the Ukrainian and the U.S. presidents. In particular, the joint Charter for Cooperation, Friendship and Partnership states very clearly that the "existence of a free, independent, and sovereign Ukrainian state, as well as its security and prosperity are of great importance to the United States." In addition, the presidents signed the Agreement on Cooperation in Space Exploration recognizing Ukraine as a space-capable state [kosmichna derzhava]. This is a passage into the technological and space future, thanks to which Ukraine will occupy a steady place in the division of labor worldwide. We are conducting talks about the possibility of launching satellites into the space which would promote global communications. Ukrainian rockets are capable of delivering 50-60 satellites into space, expanding opportunities for information and television and radio communications.

[Khandros] **What were your plans and hopes when coming to Washington? Which of your plans succeeded and which failed? Why?**

[Shcherbak] I participated in the president's visit as a member of the official delegation. My arrival coincided with intensive preparatory work. Thus, the events dragged me into the mainstream of negotiations and preparations for them. My participation in this work provided me with a broader insight into the issues concerning Ukrainian-U.S. relations, which are very intensive and based on an impressive legal base. Over the entire time of Ukraine's existence as an independent state, about 50 documents have been signed. Incidentally, there are many more documents than those signed with Israel. If you add here the agreements that remained after the Soviet era and that do not run counter to Ukrainian interests, the number of those documents will rise to 150.

Of course, our relations are not based only on a legal foundation, but also on work with people. From the very beginning, I initiated contacts with key American politicians—I met twice with President Bill Clinton and three times with Vice President Al Gore, whom, by the way, I met in Moscow four years ago.

Most of the time, I am in contact with officials from the State Department, and in particular, with the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Strobe Talbott, an expert in Russian- and Ukrainian-related issues and a very influential man in Washington. I work with Ambassador-at-Large Jim Collins, also from the State Department, on a regular basis. We enjoy positive relations with Nicholas Burnes from the National Security Council, who is national security adviser to the president. (Now, he has moved to a different position). The circle of contacts is gradually expanding. Ukraine is popular in Washington, or using the American terminology, "sexy" (attractive).

At the same time, I had to spend much time getting acquainted with the embassy itself, meeting first of all its staffers, its structure, and methods of work. After all, this is perhaps the largest foreign-based institution of our state, situated in the important part of the world, which Washington is.

In the Ukrainian Embassy in Washington, we now have more than 50 employees, or more than 100 people including their families. [passage omitted]

[Khandros] **Let us take a broader look at things. The developments in Chechnya are currently being debated everywhere. The United States perhaps does not overlook this problem, either. Correct?**

[Shcherbak] This region overwhelms discussions conducted at all diplomatic receptions. I met with ambassadors from Poland, Israel, Azerbaijan, Moldova, Georgia, Russia, Germany, Armenia, and Belarus, and they all talked about the Chechnya events.

Thanks to CNN correspondents who regularly cover those events for the world community, the war has received worldwide attention, and has stopped being only one country's affair. The number of reports from Bosnia and Herzegovina and the former Yugoslavia has considerably decreased, compared with those about Chechnya. We communicated the official Ukrainian position to the U.S. Administration, which is balanced, and was highly praised in Washington political circles.

Let me remind you that first, we do not recognize Dydayev's regime and his state formation. Second, we

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respect Russia's federal division and its territorial inviolability. This is an internal affair of that state. And third, it is, unfortunately, obvious that all signs of violation of human rights, especially the right to live, are present in Chechnya; at this point, it is no longer an internal affair of Russia, but rather that of the world community.

Of course, for the development of a democratic, free, and independent Ukraine, it is very important to have a democratic, free, and independent Russia nearby developing peacefully and without tragic upheavals. [passage omitted]

[Khandros] **I know how much ecological issues occupy your life. And the "Green World," your entire career as legislative deputy, the Ministry for Environmental Protection, and the book titled "Chernobyl" was translated into many foreign languages. [preceding sentence as published] How well do ecological problems fit into the Ukrainian ambassador's scope of interests?**

[Shcherbak] In the United States, I was sort of reborn to ecology. In Israel, there was no possibility to discuss ecological problems. Ecologically, Israel is a very clean country. At present, however, in America, there are good opportunities [for that]. The State Program for Aid to Ukraine comprises ecological elements. We have now a chance to receive additional assistance—for handling energy-saving issues, for example. A resolution of this ecological problem would serve the interests of Ukraine and the United States. There are excellent opportunities for cooperation in the nuclear safety sphere. In Ukraine, the name "Ministry of Environmental Protection" was supplemented with significant words "and Nuclear Safety." The ministry has abruptly expanded its responsibilities; so I am even planning to appoint someone who would specifically be in charge of energy- and ecology-related issues. By the way, I visited the United States when I was minister for environmental protection in the fall of 1991. Ukraine had recently declared its independence, and it was not yet recognized diplomatically. Nevertheless, we managed to sign the first memorandum on cooperation between the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency and the Ukrainian [Environmental Protection] Ministry. I am proud of that.

[Khandros] **Among others, the readers of DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA are interested in your origins and family. Who influenced the development of your personality most of all?**

[Shcherbak] My father is Ukrainian, of Cossack ancestry from the town of Uman. My mother's father was Polish, and my grandmother was Ukrainian. My mother was a devout Orthodox Church believer. My mother's father, Dominik Sloniewski, was the son of a participant in the 1863 uprising in Poland. I am a third generation Kiev resident, and my children and grandchildren are fourth and fifth generation Kievites.

Speaking about personalities in my family, both my mother and father had an influence on me. The father loved Ukraine and its history. He was silent and reserved, but very kind. My mother, by contrast, was sociable and outgoing. My father had a precise mathematical mind. So, I combine these two halves. Generally speaking, I have an aptitude for analysis, but sometimes, I approach things emotionally. My father died 20 years before the death of my mother, who lived with us until she was 86. She left a profound mark in our souls and memory. My heart aches every time I think of her. My brother, Mykola Shcherbak, is corresponding member at the National Science Academy of Ukraine. He made a significant contribution to my genuine understanding of the Stalinist system. He was arrested in 1948, while a biology student at Kiev University, for participation in the clandestine OUN [Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists] organization. He contracted tuberculosis in Gulag camps in Mordova. Khrushchev's thaw [period of departure from and denouncing the Stalin regime] helped him come back home and engage in his favorite science. He became director of the zoological museum at the National Science Academy of Ukraine. By the way, he was not exonerated until recently, when Ukraine became an independent state.

[Khandros] **And the children?**

[Shcherbak] Yaroslav, my son, is candidate of medical sciences. He has recently become father of a son, my grandson. I have a granddaughter Hanka, Bohdan's daughter, who graduated from the medical institute. Right now, she lives with us and studies English at Georgetown University. My wife is a biologist by training and a graduate of Kiev University.

[Khandros] **The last question is about the artistic plans of Yuriy Shcherbak the writer.**

[Shcherbak] When I was in Israel, I planned to publish a political book about Ukraine. When I came to work here, I understood that this is so far an unrealizable dream. Here, I cannot even think about any writing, even though I cannot forget my writer's life. I met here with the prominent Russian writer, Vasiliy Aksyonov, whom I have known through [his works in] "Yunost" magazine for 35 years. We met, reminisced about writers of the 1960's, our friends... Now, they are in their sixties themselves.

Shmarov on Participation in Abu-Dhabi Arms Fair

WS2203144695 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 16 Mar 95 p 3

[Interview with Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov by unidentified URYADOVYY KURYER correspondent; place and date not given: "It Is Our Debut on the Arms Market"]

[FBIS Translated Text] **A Ukrainian delegation representing our state at the "Idex 95" international exhibition of military hardware has departed for the United Arab Emirates [UAE]. The official delegation is headed by**

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Valeriy Shmarov, deputy prime minister and minister of defense. Our correspondent met with him the day before his departure.

[Correspondent] Mr. Shmarov, could you please tell us a few words about the exhibition. What is exhibited there?

[Shmarov] The exhibitions of the "Idex" series, although initiated only two years ago, are known as an authoritative and representative review of the accomplishments in the field of production of arms and hardware for ground troops and naval forces. It was no accident that the first exhibition, which took place in the UAE in 1993, comprised almost 350 companies from 34 countries of the world.

The current exhibition—the second one—will be attended by around 500 companies from 40 countries, including such leading world producers of arms as the United States, Russia, France, the United Kingdom, South Africa, and Switzerland.

This year's exhibition is Ukraine's debut. Ukraine possesses a powerful military-industrial complex. We have something to show to those who have a demand for contemporary military hardware.

[Correspondent] Who specifically will represent our country and what will be exhibited?

[Shmarov] Our exhibition occupies an area of over 550 square meters. Around 400 exhibits will be displayed there. These are products (operating samples or models) of 53 enterprises and institutions of the Ministry of Machine Building, Military-Industrial Complex, and Conversion; the Ministry of Defense; the National Academy of Sciences, and the State Corporation of Construction Materials. I will name some of them: The "Arsenal Plant" and the Artem production amalgamations from Kiev; the Malyshev production amalgamation, the tractor and aircraft plants from Kharkov; the "Black Sea Shipyard" and the "61 Communard Shipyard" amalgamations from Mykolayiv; the well-known Paton Electric Welding Institute; the motor vehicle plant from Kremenchuk....

Among the most prominent exhibits will be the [Krivak-III class] frigate Hetman Sahaydachnyy, the T-84 and T-72 tanks, and an engineering digging machine. The exhibition will display various optical and radar devices, systems, and instruments, systems of communication, hydroacoustics, and navigation, computers, and so on.

We wanted to build our exhibition in a way that would enable our possible customers to learn as fully as possible about the high intellectual, scientific, engineering, and production potential of the military-industrial complex of Ukraine.

[Correspondent] Obviously, preparation of the exhibition and participation in it is a rather costly undertaking?

[Shmarov] Of course, the costs are quite high. It would be naive, however, to believe that the world arms market can be penetrated by low expenditures. I would like to add that the exhibition costs are covered not only by the state. They are shared by other sponsors: The "Ukrayinmash" scientific-productional foreign trade amalgamation; the "Prohres" specialized foreign trade firm; the "Nova" joint-stock company, and other similar organizations.

Taking into account the unique nature of such a representative exhibition, the government proposed to the Ministry of Machine Building that a regular exhibition of arms, military hardware, as well as Ukraine's military designs and technologies be established in Kiev.

[Correspondent] All we can do is wish you and the entire Ukrainian delegation success at the "Idex 95." We will welcome your comments on the results of the exhibition after your return from Abu-Dhabi.

[Shmarov] Thank you, with pleasure.

Russian Ex-Servicemen Arrested With 6 Kg of Uranium

LD2303114395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1104 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Viktor Demidenko and Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev March 23 TASS—Officers of Kiev's organised crime department seized six kilogrammes of Uranium-235 and 238 on two former Russian military servicemen arrested in Kiev, ITAR-TASS was told by Department Deputy Head Police Colonel Mikhail Sadovoy.

Sadovoy said the men came from Russia, carrying uranium in three half litre jars, and tried to sell it to mediators for exporting abroad.

Sadovoy declined to give names of the arrested men, with investigation in progress.

Experts of the Institute for Nuclear Studies of the Ukrainian National Academy of Sciences reported that seized uranium is used in versions of reactors of nuclear power plants of the Chernobyl type and of nuclear-powered submarines.

A small amount of radium and palladium was also found in the jars.

Experts said a specific cluster of events could launch a chain reaction of these materials at any time.

National Affairs

Kuchma Reps Circulate Message to Crimean Council

LD2203135995 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1221 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Ryabchikov]

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[FBIS Translated Text] Simferopol, 22 Mar—The decisions of the Ukrainian parliament on abolishing Crimea's Constitution and eliminating the institution of the presidency in the republic are aimed at restoring constitutional legality and stabilizing the situation in Crimea. They pursue the aim of protecting the rights and interests of the peninsula's population and normalizing the activity of all the bodies of state power. This is set forth in a statement of the Ukrainian president's permanent representation in Crimea, which has been circulated today at the extraordinary session of the Crimean parliament that is being held here.

In the assessment of the representation of the head of the Ukrainian state, the bodies of legislative and executive power of the Republic of Crimea have recently been carrying out lawmaking activity that is in flagrant violation of the Constitution and the legislation that is in effect in Ukraine.

Crimean Parliament Expresses No Confidence in Premier

LD2203134395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1331 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Ryabchikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Simferopol March 22 TASS—The Crimean Parliament today expressed no confidence in Prime Minister of the Crimean Government Anatoliy Franchuk.

Of the 89 parliament members who took part in the secret ballot 58 voted against the prime minister.

The parliament also expressed no confidence in Vice-Premier Andrey Senchenko who was in charge of economic questions in the government.

Parliament Chairman Sergey Tsekov proposed appointing Anatoliy Drobotov, the current head of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Crimean Republic's prime minister.

Parliament Fires Premier; Crimean Government Resigns

LD2203145695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1447 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Ryabchikov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Simferopol March 22 TASS—The Crimean Government today resigned as one man after the republic's parliament sacked Prime Minister Anatoliy Franchuk. The announcement was made by Vice-Premier Arkadiy Demidenko at today's session of the Crimean legislature.

The parliament declined to accept the move because the government decision to resign had not been put on paper in due order.

The parliament appointed Anatoliy Drobotov as new prime minister. Drobotov is known in Crimea as a competent economic manager. He used to head a collective farm outside Simferopol and his latest job was Crimea's minister of agriculture.

Drobotov Confirmed As Prime Minister

LD2203182395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SIMFEROPOL, Mar 22 (Interfax)—The Crimean parliament confirmed the appointment of Anatoliy Drobotov to the post of prime minister by a majority of votes today. He received the support of 62 members of parliament.

Drobotov, a Russian, was born in Dnepropetrovsk in 1951. He worked as chairman of the Lenin Collective Farm in the Simferopol Region. Drobotov was appointed Crimean Agriculture Minister in December 1994.

Crimean Deputy Prime Minister Arkadiy Demidenko said at the parliament sitting that "given the present situation and the results of voting (on dismissal of former Crimean prime minister Franchuk - IF) the entire Crimean government will resign."

However, Crimean Parliament Chairman Sergey Tsekov said that resignation applications from members of the government would be considered separately.

Kiev Says Crimean Parliament Cannot Appoint PM

LD2303092095 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 23 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Since the abolition on 17 March of the Crimean constitution by the Supreme Council of Ukraine, formation of the government and appointment of a prime minister falls outside the authority of the Crimean Supreme Council, the Ukrainian Ministry of Justice said in a note of clarification. Therefore, the decisions adopted yesterday on the dismissal and appointment of Crimea's top government officials are invalid since today these issues are the exclusive prerogative of the Supreme Council of Ukraine.

Crimean Government Resignation Rejected Again

LD2303101695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0929 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lev Ryabchikov]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Simferopol, 23 Mar—Today the entire government of Crimea once again announced its resignation in connection with the case of Crimean parliament relieving Anatoliy Franchuk, the prime minister, of his post yesterday. However, the Supreme Soviet again did not accept it.

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Meanwhile, a source in the Supreme Council of Ukraine told an ITAR-TASS correspondent today that a draft on dissolving the Crimean Supreme Soviet had already been prepared. It is thought that the new elections would be held in October. [passage omitted]

Tsekov: Crimean Issue Used As 'Bargaining Chip'

LD2203194395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1837 GMT 22 Mar 95

["INTERFAX-UKRAINE" news item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Simferopol, Mar 22 (INTERFAX)—Chairman of the Crimean parliament Sergey Tsekov believes that "Crimea has become a bargaining chip once again in a big game being played by Moscow and Kiev." Commenting on the visit to Ukraine of the Russian delegation led by First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets, he told Interfax that "Kiev's tough decisions on Crimea seem to reflect the Ukrainian-Russian bargain on the Black Sea Fleet and Sevastopol."

During the visit to Kiev on March 21 and 22, Soskovets stated that the Crimean problem is an internal affair of Ukraine.

On March 17, the Ukrainian parliament annulled the Crimean constitution and presidential post.

Tsekov also expressed the opinion that as a result, the state system of the Republic of Crimea might be gradually eliminated "with Russia's connivance in exchange for a long-term rent of Sevastopol and fast solution of the Black Sea Fleet problem."

Crimean Supreme Council Authorizes Talks With Ukraine

LD2203195895 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Simferopol—The Supreme Council of Crimea has authorized a delegation of its members to conduct negotiations in Kiev with the Ukrainian parliament. Led by Supreme Council of Crimea Deputy Chairman Volodymyr Klychnykov, the delegation groups Deputies Yuriy Zyryanov, Vitaliy Rudakov, Borys Kyzylov, and Volodymyr Kolodkin.

Volodymyr Klychnykov told the deputies the delegation would leave for Kiev tomorrow night "to repudiate the insinuations and undisguised lies currently in circulation at the Supreme Council of Ukraine."

He said he did not think it would be possible to complete the talks within a week or two for a result to be satisfactory.

The deputation has been empowered to draw up, coordinate with the Ukrainian side at the preliminary stage and present to the parliament of Crimea various drafts and sign provisional documents, the latter with no legally binding force for either Ukraine and Crimea.

Crimean Leaders on Prospects for Resolving Crisis

LD2303062695 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0502 GMT 23 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Moscow, 23 Mar—The situation in Crimea, the prospects for resolving the crisis between Kiev and Simferopol, and the results of the parliamentary session were discussed late on Wednesday evening [22 March] at a working meeting between Yuriy Meshkov, stripped of the powers of president of Crimea by the Ukrainian parliament; Serhiy Tsekov, chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea; and newly elected Prime Minister Anatoliy Drobotov. Aleksandr Spakhov, adviser to Yu. Meshkov, told this to an ITAR-TASS correspondent in a telephone call from Simferopol today. He did not mention the decisions made at the meeting.

The adviser noted that Yu. Meshkov, commenting upon the results of the session, said: "The result of Anatoliy Franchuk's dismissal is quite in order. The former prime minister of Crimea tried to play too big a political role in Crimea, to become the first person, forgot state interests, and committed a number of most serious failures in the sphere of economic policy." [passage omitted]

At the end of its session on Wednesday, the Crimean parliament formed its own delegation for holding talks with the Supreme Council of Ukraine. The delegation is headed by Vladimir Klychnikov, deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of Crimea and leader of the Respublica faction.

'Text' of Meshkov's International Appeal

WS2303094695 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 2239 GMT 22 Mar 95

[Unattributed "Special to INTELNEWS"—"Meshkov to World: Help!"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Simferopol, March 22—Crimean President Yuriy Meshkov, reacting to last week's abolition of his office and the Crimean constitution by the Ukrainian Parliament, issued a statement on Wednesday [22 March] which he addressed to United Nations Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali, to the General Secretary of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe and the International Confederation of Journalists and to democratic organizations throughout the world.

In the statement, Meshkov said that the actions of the Ukrainian Parliament violated international law. He also questioned the legitimacy of Crimea as part of independent Ukraine, saying that the December 1991 referendum in which a majority of Crimeans voted—along with the rest of the country—for Ukrainian independence.

The following is the text of the statement, as provided to INTELNEWS on Wednesday by the Crimean Parliament Press Center.

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"Ukrainian Parliament, ignoring the norms of international law, has annulled the Crimean Constitution from May 6, 1992, the main principles of which were confirmed by the plebiscite of March 27, 1994, and embodied in the law on renewal of constitutional bases of the Crimean statehood dated May 20, 1994.

"All these illegal decisions of the Ukrainian Parliament, which were adopted in violation of the law on division of authority between Crimea and Ukraine, are the clear violation of the constitutional bases of Crimean statehood, which turns Crimea into an ordinary territorial and administrative unit—Crimean oblast. The annulment of the laws on presidency in Crimea, on presidential elections and on election of deputies and city and regional chairs contradict the democratic principles of civilized society.

"More than 83 percent of Crimeans voted on January 1991 for re-creation of the Crimean Republic as a unit of the Soviet Union and a member of the Union Agreement. Besides, it never meant that Crimea wanted to be a part of Ukraine, what was stipulated by the USSR Law on solution of the problems, connected with the order of leaving the USSR from April 3, 1990. According to this law, Ukraine, while conducting its referendum on Dec. 1, 1991, on independence, should have given the right to Crimeans to conduct their own referendum on the Crimean status with the following options:

1. Crimea constitutes a part of Ukraine;

2. Crimea returns to Russia;

3. Crimea becomes an independent state. This right was not given to Crimeans.

"According to the Crimean Constitution, the only carrier of sovereignty and the only source of the state power is the people, Crimean citizens. Nevertheless, Ukrainian Parliament annulled the post of president in Crimea, which 73 percent of the population had voted for. All these actions of Ukrainian power are illegal, forcible and aim at the liquidation of Crimean statehood. Many meetings in Crimean cities and towns protested over these illegal actions.

"The Crimean Parliament, at its sitting on March 18, 1995, discussed the political and legal situation in Crimea and adopted a statement, saying the Crimean Parliament will never agree with the loss of the Constitution.

"The President of Crimea fully supports the demands of Crimean citizens, the Crimean Parliament's statement and appeal to You to use all Your authority to take measures in order to protect the Crimean statehood and the will of Crimean people.

"The people of Crimea are waiting for Your effective help."

Kiev Stops Funding Crimea's 'Unconsitutional' Government

LD2303113295 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1015 GMT 23 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev—Ukraine's Cabinet of Ministers has cut off funding to Crimean executive authorities set up in violation of the Ukrainian Constitution. The cabinet announced this decision in its resolution of 22 March on speeding up the preparation of measures to stabilize the socioeconomic situation in Crimea. The cabinet is to approve these measures by 20 April.

The Ukrainian Government instructed relevant bodies to prepare within three months a program for the repatriation, settlement, and employment of Crimean Tatars. The respective document will allocate material and financial resources as well as land plots reserved for repatriates.

The Ukrainian State Property Fund is instructed to complete in the near future the division of property on the autonomous republic's territory into Ukrainian and Crimean.

Proposed increases of salaries paid to servicemen and law enforcement officers stationed in Crimea are to be submitted by 20 April.

Power ministries are instructed to step up the campaign against organized crime and put an end to paramilitary and armed formations on the peninsula.

Supreme Council Adopts 1995 State Budget

LD2203211795 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Kiev, 22 Mar—The Supreme Council by a majority of 232 votes passed the state budget of Ukraine for 1995 at its first reading. [passage omitted]

The resolution on the subject rules, in particular: To pass at its first reading the draft law "On the state budget of Ukraine for 1995," submitted by the president of Ukraine on 7 March 1995; and to limit a deficit in the aggregate budget for the fiscal year 1995 to 7.3 percent of the gross domestic product. [passage omitted]

Parliamentary proceedings will resume at 1000 hours [0800 GMT] on 23 March.

Further on Passage of State Budget

WS2303101195 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 2239 GMT 22 Mar 95

["Special to INTELNEWS" by Oksana Hasiuk]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev March, 22—The Ukrainian Parliament gave preliminary approval to the 1995 state budget Wednesday [22 March] submitted by President Leonid Kuchma. It passed 232 to 91.

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According to the resolution, the consolidated budget deficit, which includes both state and local budgets, is fixed at 7.3 percent.

Parliament also ordered the Cabinet of Ministries and Budget Parliamentary Committee to summarize all proposals to the draft budget and to submit the final version of the state budget to Parliament in two weeks.

Deputies will have two days to submit their draft budget proposals, according to the resolution passed Wednesday. Parliament considered the draft budget last week. The budget parliamentary committee, headed by Azorov, considered the draft and summarized all amendments and additions.

The budget committee decided to increase financing of border defense forces from KBV [karbovantsi] 9.5 trillion to KBV 10 trillion. The budget committee also proposed to decrease financing of the legislature from KBV 3 trillion to KBV 2.8 trillion.

Finance minister Petro Hermanchuk proposed the creation of a control committee for verification of budget revenues and expenditures.

A reform parliamentary group proposed that the budget deficit be fixed at its present level by imposing a 7.3 percent ceiling. The group also proposed decreasing the value added tax from 28 to 20 percent and the income tax from 45 to 30 percent. Both motions were defeated

Communists and socialists in Parliament also successfully opposed passing a resolution fixing the budget deficit at 7 percent.

"We can not agree with the (International Monitory Fund) dictate," said Parliamentary Communist faction leader Petro Symonenko.

DSU Tells Kuchma To Befriend Japan

AU2203190695 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 18 Mar 95 p 1

["Statement by the Nationalist Association 'Ukraine's State Independence' [DSU]: Maintain Ties of Friendship With Japan"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Since time immemorial, this wise saying has reached us: "Make Friends Over Your Neighbor." We remind Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma of this on the eve of his visit to Japan. Make friends with Japan—this is how this old saying may now be interpreted.

Japan is a country, with which Ukraine has no territorial disagreement and with which there have never been and, hopefully, will never be antagonistic differences. Japan is our natural ally. We share a strategic adversary—imperialist Russia.

We call upon L. Kuchma to hold negotiations with Japanese top officials without looking over his shoulder to Moscow: How it will assess the negotiations and what it will say. Whether or not it likes our rapprochement with Japan—is its own problem.

President Leonid Kuchma's visit to Japan may become a historic one. It would suffice to say just one phrase in order to achieve success during the visit: "Ukraine recognizes the existence of the Kurile Islands problem."

The Ukrainian president must say this phrase!

Leadership of Ukraine's State Independence Association.

Increasing Commercial Activity Among Servicemen

WS2203150495 Kiev VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 16 Mar 95 p 3

[Report by Svitlana Bulanenko: "The Army Goes Into Private Business"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Having earmarked as little as 28 percent for the needs of the Armed Forces, and having curtailed financing of a number of welfare programs, the state has virtually given servicemen the "go-ahead" to independently search for ways to make a living. So, they are actively looking for an alternative to apathy and disintegration, displaying wit and initiative. The Army has managed to quickly adapt to market ways of conducting business. Generals are accumulating initial capital by selling land, property, and equipment belonging to the Defense Ministry, and old and young officers are involved in the work of commercial organizations, earning additional incomes.

This process is particularly visible in large cities. For instance, according to a poll, 84 percent of servicemen from the Kiev garrison have additional incomes. This is exactly why 76 percent of 1,124 officers and warrant officers, who are to be released to the reserves, said that they do not face the issue of finding employment. They already found jobs a long time ago. Officers whose service involves work with computers or modern communications have the best chance for highly paid positions. Even former political officers are finding cushy jobs in security companies.

No matter how paradoxical it may seem, the prestige of military service has recently increased, particularly among officers from the capital's garrison. Their former confusion and severe discontent over a humiliatingly low level of material provisions have disappeared. Officers have quickly adapted themselves to the new situation, having understood that it also has some advantages. The fact that, due to financial reasons, combat training currently takes an insignificant amount of time makes it possible for officers to earn extra money. Thus, servicemen-turned-merchants have an excellent opportunity to obtain a solid hard currency makeweight in the form of remuneration for services rendered to private companies, at the same time preserving their basic pay and right to subsidies.

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Scandals connected with cases of corruption among top-brass generals are becoming increasingly rare. Generals are trying to protect themselves socially, and let their subordinates live normally. And possible public organizations such as the Union of Ukrainian Officers or military trade unions, which would sometimes "rock the boat" by trying to incite military masses to fight for miserable handouts from the state, have either been dissolved or forced into the background. Their influence on military personnel is negligible. Officers' assemblies have also subsided. Times of idle talk have gone, and officers now prefer to act not in squares but in private firms set up by their wives.

Additionally, the muddle in the top echelons of power and the nearly complete failure of military reform, apparently, is not affecting the material situation of officers, and it no longer provokes their furious reactions. Sixty four percent of them are not at all interested in the situation in the Defense Ministry. And if one asked the perennial question "The Army, with whom are you?", one could hear people in epaulets answering unanimously: "Leave us alone; we are on our own!"

Economic Issues

$5.5 Billion Assistance Package Secured in Paris

LD2203184795 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1430 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Paris—Agreement has been reached in principle at the Paris meeting of Ukraine's donor countries on a $5.5 billion international assistance package required by Ukraine in 1995, Ukrainian Deputy Prime Minister Ihor Mityukov said in an interview with UNIAN today. The first official meeting with the consultative group of the donor countries was "a success," Ihor Mityukov, in charge of the Ukrainian delegation in Paris, added. The forum in Paris on 21 and 22 March was attended by representatives of almost 20 donor countries.

The sum consists of $2.1 billion of credits by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, $2.5 billion as a result of restructuring Ukraine's debt to Russia and assistance under intergovernmental accords with the United States, the European Union, Japan,and other countries, with Japan to finalize the size of its contribution during Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma's visit to that country, Ihor Mityukov told UNIAN.

In the course of Ukrainian Economy Minister Roman Shpek's latest visit to Washington, the United States confirmed its readiness to allocate $250 million.

The European Union at the Paris meeting made its own offer of $300 million, conditional on real progress at the talks on the closure of Chernobyl nuclear power plant, a proposal strongly criticized by U.S. Envoy Thomas Simons, the U.S. assistant to the new independent states coordinator, who called the proposal "a political blunder."

Talks are to be held with a European Union delegation, led by France's Environment Minister Michel Barnier, in Kiev on 12-14 April, in order to address the issue of Chernobyl "at a political level", Ihor Mityukov continued.

Ihor Mityukov, Roman Shpek, Industry Minister Mykhaylo Kaskevych, and Yuriy Yekhanurov, chairman of Ukraine's state property Fund, spoke at the Paris meeting. Discussions dealt with a reform program on the basis of agreements on a rehabilitation loan by the World Bank and an IMF stand-by facility, Ihor Mityukov said. In addition, a separate hearing focused on the subjects of welfare, land reform, agriculture transformation, and reforms in industry and the financial sector.

The speakers "commended" the Government and president of Ukraine for their firm actions in reforming society, Ihor Mityukov said.

A report on a deal between Ukraine and Russia to restructure the former country's debt, signed on the eve of the meeting, was also given a favorable reception, with the meeting pariticipants speaking highly, in Ihor Mityukov's words, of Moscow's pledge to postpone the repayment of the Ukrainian debt to Russia.

The meeting in Paris is drawing to a close with a debate on every aspect of Ukraine's energy policy, including energy saving.

"Today's negotiations will not result in the announcement of any figures," Ihor Mityukov told UNIAN. It is simply the presentation of this policy to give the organizations and donors an opportunity to decide on energy-related investment projects in Ukraine.

Deputy Economics Minister on Price Formation

WS2303081595 Kiev URYADOVVY KURYER in Ukrainian 14 Mar 95 p 6

[Report by Leonid Samsonenko on statement by Ukrainian Deputy Economics Minister Viktor Kalnyk; place and date not given: "Price Formation: Yesterday, Today, Tomorrow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Cabinet of Ministers' Decree No. 109 "On Specifying Powers of Primary Bodies of State Executive Power, the Government of the Autonomous Republic of Crimea, and Executive Committees of Local Councils in the Area of Price Formation" from 13 February 1995 marked a new stage in state pricing policy under conditions of economic reform.

URYADOVVY KURYER correspondent Leonid Samsonenko asked Deputy Economics Minister Viktor Kalnyk to provide more details on the state of price formation policy in Ukraine, as well as its prospects.

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The outlining of a proper correlation between the area of free price formation and the degree of state interference in the setting of prices and tariffs has been, and remains, the primary problem of state pricing policy in Ukraine.

Given current conditions, comprehensive regulation of prices by the state is virtually impossible, because, for this, it is necessary to introduce strict centralized management in all areas of the economy (wages, finances, and the distribution of goods), irrespective of the forms of ownership. Regarding a lack of funds, a great dependence on energy resources and raw materials, and the deformed structure of production, even such stringent centralized management will not be able to provide stable prices or curb inflation.

Therefore, there remains practically a single path for the state to follow by which it could regulate prices and tariffs on a limited range of products, goods, and services, the amount of which was constantly reduced due to a lack of budget funds meant for subsidizing prices [dotuvannye tsin] to keep them at a relatively low level. The need to pay world prices for energy resources in a timely fashion has also pushed us toward making this decision.

Forms and methods of such price regulation change all the time. Also introduced were price limits (fixed prices); limits on the level of profits; limits on trade, supplies, and sale markups; as well as the obligation to declare prices. With regard to specific goods and services, low prices and tariffs for the people were maintained by transferring part of their virtual cost to producers, while the cost of imported energy resources was decreased through the discriminatory confiscation of a portion of hard currency revenues from exporters by using an artificially inflated official exchange rate. Negative aspects of such price regulation led to the increase in the budget deficit and in foreign debts, to a drop in export potential and in production output, and to the deterioration of the financial state of enterprises.

It was necessary to find new approaches toward price formation policy. Therefore, in compliance with the Ukrainian Supreme Council decree "On Primary Principles and Trends in the Development of Ukraine's Economy During the Crisis Period" from 15 June 1994, and the Ukrainian president's speech "On Primary Principles of Economic and Social Policy" approved in October 1994 by the Ukrainian Supreme Council, the government set itself to improve price formation in the following directions:

—a maximum reduction in administrative interference in price formation by expanding the sphere of free (market) price formation in conjunction with—but not irrespective of—the liberalization of economic relations in general (the establishment of a competitive environment, reform of ownership, the liberalization of foreign policy, and the unification of the currency exchange rate);

—completion of a stage-by-stage transition to the inclusion of genuine costs of energy resources to production costs and the price structure, based on world market prices;

—a strengthening of the role of prices, as one of the most important levers for providing an incentive for increasing the efficiency of production; a gradual refusal to transfer social burdens (subsidies, benefits, and compensation for social losses by producers) to a price mechanism, and the transfer of this social burden to specific consumers through the mechanism of social payments (pensions, stipends, targeted financial assistance, and so on) and wages;

—reforming domestic price formation to meet the conditions and principles of the world practice of integrating into the world economic system and to oppose the shadow economy, price dumping, and other violations.

The problem of updating the price formation mechanism—according to the adopted trends and planned objectives—was to a certain degree resolved last year. In particular, this refers to downsizing the regulated-price sector and expanding the sphere of free prices: As of late 1994, the share of prices that were set by the state did not exceed 11 percent, while this share accounted for 75 percent at the beginning of 1994. The liberalization of purchase prices for agricultural goods, industrial products, and foodstuffs, as well as the abolishment of direct subsidies for agricultural producers in late 1994 were also intensified. In fact, as of today, only specific types of bread, flour, baby food, and mixed fodder remain in the category of regulated-price foodstuffs. A stage-by-stage reduction in subsidies for coal and coal products (effective 1 January 1995, subsidies for the coal sector have been fully canceled) is under way. Wholesale prices for most imported energy resources and, primarily, for natural gas and oil, approach genuine (world) prices to a maximum degree due to the removal of the imbalance in currency rates in connection with the transition to the unification of the currency rate. Besides, a stage-by-stage reduction of state subsidies for people's everyday fuel needs, for housing and municipal services, and for city transportation has begun. The power of local self-government bodies and local businesses in the sphere of price formation has been expanded considerably.

When the government embarked along this path, it clearly realized that the moves made would trigger sharp price rises and would be perceived by the people equivocally. The delay in resolving the problem, however, threatened an economic catastrophe and extremely serious consequences.

It is still difficult now to thoroughly estimate the moves which have been made, because the socioeconomic situation is extremely difficult. Therefore, the comparison of a variety of the most important economic figures—reflecting the situation before the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers adopted its Decree No. 733 on 21 November

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1993 and the situation after the implementation of this decree—shows positive tendencies and conditions for the general recovery of the economy. To what tendencies and conditions do I refer?

First of all, I refer to the reduction in the rate of the drop in industrial output and real GDP. The rate of the drop in an average daily output of goods totaled 18 percent in November-December 1994, while the average relevant index in 1994 stood at 27.8 percent. Positive tendencies also reflected the state of Ukraine's budget. Mention should be made that if the government failed to adopt measures to change price formation, the amount of subsidies in the fourth quarter of 1994 would have accounted for almost half of all budget revenues. At the same time, according to expert estimates, inflation would have risen by an addition 50-100 percent.

The fact that the rate of the increase in our debts, primarily for energy resources, to other countries has sharply decreased is also positive. For example, as of 1 October 1994, our debts for Russian gas totaled $1.41 billion, increasing 5.5-fold, compared with January 1994 ($255.7 million). Simultaneously, as of late January 1995, the amount of debts increased by only $140 million, or by 10 percent against September 1994. Due to the unification of the currency rate, a more stable tendency toward the stabilization of prices for energy resources emerged. Their rise to world market levels weakens the effect of increased prices for energy resources on inflation. This process was particularly evident over previous years.

I would like to describe in greater detail those primary tasks that must be resolved this year. In particular, these tasks are as follows:

—the indexation of purchasing prices for grain, sunflower seeds, and sugar beets to compensate agricultural producers for expenditures—triggered by inflation—on products that were sold in 1994 through state contracts. Such an indexation will enable for a partial financing of the spring 1995 sowing campaign and to avoid changing retail prices for bread and other foodstuffs—as was done last year—without printing new currency;

—the liquidation of the legislative vacuum—regarding the regulation of prices for products that are manufactured by monopoly enterprises and the further expansion of the free-price sector, as an environment of true competition is established;

—the introduction of rental payments for coal and coal products in conjunction with a number of organizational moves to structurally reconstruct this sector (presidential edicts and government decrees on this issue are being drafted);

—the introduction of rental payments for oil and natural gas of domestic production and prompt responding to changes in prices for imported energy resources when domestic wholesale and retail prices for energy resources are set;

—the indexation of capital stock and the increase in the role of depreciation allotments as a source of investments and a source of restoring the capital stock;

—a shift of emphasis from direct management of prices to a re-examination of the correctness of estimated production costs; the strengthening of efficient implementation of antimonopoly legislation designed to prevent discriminatory and high prices being set by monopoly enterprises.

I am convinced that the implementation of the measures scheduled by the government will have a positive impact on the stabilization of the price-formation sector, as well as on the overall economic situation.

Agriculture Minister Encourages Investment Projects

WS2303095195 Kiev INTELNEWS in English 2239 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, March 22—Agriculture Minister Yuriy Karasyk urged regional agriculture department leaders to learn about investment projects.

These projects would "ensure that foreign credits and investments in Ukrainian agriculture are appropriated through detailed and practical projects," he said, at a two-day seminar, which started Wednesday [22 March], on the methodology of investment project development.

The Agricultural-Industrial Complex [AIC] was given top priority in terms of foreign investments, Karasyk said. Unless the AIC's structure and management is improved and practical investment projects are introduced, "there will be neither reforms, nor normal life in the country," he added.

Given that First Prime Minister Petro Sabluk will visit the United States on April 9 to negotiate the U.S. financial aid to Ukraine's agriculture, Karasyk said, investment projects need to be developed soon. The World Bank has invested $32 million in a project related to seed production.

Didie de La Mettri, head of the joint European Bank for Reconstruction and Development [EBRD]-European Council group, said the group looks for properly prepared projects, the availability of needed equipment, production facilities and financial involvement of the investor himself.

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If these conditions are met, the EBRD and other banks will provide Ukraine's agriculture with credits for five to six years at 10-15 percent interest, de la Mettri said. The EBRD will no longer deal with those Ukrainian commercial banks, which, after receiving the EBRD loans at 15 percent interest, lend the funds to farmers at 50 percent interest, de la Mettri added.

EBRD only will provide direct credits for projects that are $10 million and above, de la Mettri said, adding that EBRD will open credit lines to Ukrainian banks that successfully undergo auditing.

The seminar was organized jointly by Ukrainian Agriculture Ministry, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the U.S. Agency for International Development, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the British Know-How Fund and the Canadian company Bohdan Chomiak Consulting.

Voucher Auction Sells Shares in 15 Out of 56 Firms

WS2303111195 Lvov INFOBANK in English 0840 GMT 23 Mar 95

[From the "News Service" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] On March 22, the Ukrainian State Property Fund [SPF] announced the results of the first voucher auction in Ukraine. Shares of 15 enterprises out of 56 presented at the auction were sold out completely. Eight enterprises failed to attract even a single bid. During the auction the value of shares of 3 or 4 enterprises went up threefold to fivefold compared with the face value. Approximately 170,000 property privatization vouchers were exchanged for shares. Shares of 41 enterprises will be presented for sale for the second time, according to an official of the Stock Distribution Department with the SPF. The corresponding decision is to be made by the SPF within two months.

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Belarus

Lukashenka Addresses Supreme Soviet 21 Mar

LD2203212195 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 21 Mar 95

[Address by President Alyaksandr Lukashenka at 21 March Belarusian Supreme Soviet session in Minsk; introduction by Supreme Soviet Chairman Mechyslaw Hryb; Lukashenka speaks in Russian—live]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Hryb] There are 266 deputies of the Supreme Soviet. The sitting is valid. I want to address those who have not had time to register in the organizational manner; let them do it personally through the secretariat.

Esteemed deputies of the Supreme Soviet, as you were notified yesterday and also as the president promised, the president has arrived for today's sitting of the Supreme Soviet. I would like to agree the work procedure for today. Alyaksandr Rygoravich, do you intend to speak now or later? Now. Fine, Alyaksandr Rygoravich Lukashenka, president of the Republic of Belarus, wants to speak now, before anyone else. Do you agree? Agreed. It is in line with our Constitution, and I propose that President Alyaksandr Rygoravich Lukashenka should be allowed to speak. You are welcome.

[Lukashenka] Esteemed deputies of the Supreme Soviet. Your term of office is running out. Therefore, I have decided to use my right to address the Supreme Soviet, possibly for the last time. In contrast to my previous addresses to you, I, as president of the Republic of Belarus, would like to sum up some results of our joint work since August last year, from the moment when the president of the Republic of Belarus took an oath and started carrying out his duties.

The president is often reproached for provoking confrontation with the Supreme Soviet. Enough time has passed and it is possible to sort everything out and to reach certain conclusions. Therefore, I would like to highlight a number of key ponts in the relations between the Supreme Soviet and the president, on whom depends guarantees of political stability in our society, dynamics of fulfillment of anti-crisis measures in the economy, and the process of forming the new legislative power in the republic. I have more than once called for the Supreme Soviet to cooperate on these issues, however my proposals were not always accepted by you, in fact, quite often they were not accepted.

First, I will dwell on the nature of the established relations between the president and the Supreme Soviet, first of all in the sphere of state building, since it is in this vitally important sphere that we find signs of a deformation of the constitutional balance among the branches of power. On 15 March 1994 our Supreme Soviet adopted a new constitution of the Republic of Belarus. The constitution defined the strategy of the country and generally defined our country as a unique democratic social law-governed state. Belarus became, according to the constitution, a presidential republic based on the principles of peoples' power, carried out a division of power into legislative, executive, and judicial areas, and gave priority to the rights and interests of an individual before the interests of the state. A year has passed since the new constitution.

The central issues in relations between the Supreme Soviet and the president have lately been the processes of creating, on the basis of the new constitution, bodies of power and administration, both centrally and locally, and also implementing the main provision of the program of urgent anti-crisis measures. Touching upon the first block of issues, I must note that through recently adopted laws—on the Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Belarus, on the president of the Republic of Belarus, on amendments to the law of the Republic of Belarus, and on local administration and self-administration in the Republic of Belarus—an attempt has been made to break the balance of power established by the Constitution. Thus, for example, the law on the Supreme Soviet contains a number of norms which restrict the rights of executive power, and in a certain degree contradict the Constitution of Belarus. [passage omitted]

At the same time, through an illegal increase in its powers and through expanding the rights and privileges of deputies, the Supreme Soviet, with regard to the law on the president, attempted to restrict the powers of the president in issuing legislative acts on the organization and activities of executive power, in creating working bodies under the president, and in establishing their competences. Also bewildering is the desire of the Supreme Soviet to include, in the law on the president, the provision that in case of temporary non-fulfilment by the president of his responsibilities for reasons of health, his powers pass to the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

There is a logical question: Why does the process of creating a state go so slowly in our republic, despite the fact that the new Constitution has been adopted? First of all, in my opinion, the Supreme Soviet has lost its sense of time in its long and not always consistent activities. Having been elected in the Communist union's time, and at the same time having buried it, it faces the most difficult problem of building its own state.

The Supreme Soviet has reached the end of its term in an extremely loose form. There are objective and subjective reasons for that. Far from all the deputies could endure the five-year marathon with a high sense of responsibility for the fate of Belarus. The meeting hall of the Supreme Soviet is constantly only half full—an objective indication of capabilities and morality, and the moral potential of the deputies' corps at the final stage of its work. When important and complex state issues are considered, in order to ensure a quorum, the deputies vote for each other without thinking about the moral aspect of such lightheartedness on legislation. There is a

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legal side to this issue. By voting for absent deputies, the deputies violate Article 84 of the Constitution, which envisages obligatory personal voting. In such conditions of disorganization, I can understand on a human level those deputies who probably, out of ethical considerations, have altogether stopped attending the meetings of the Supreme Soviet and have resumed their usual work at enterprises.

This morning the prime minister and [word indistinct] were given information about the president's instruction on price restraint and the effective freezing of wages and prices. This document is being worked on in the government. We have reached the stage where there are no grounds for price rises. The presence of an adequate legislative basis for socially oriented economic reforms is a key factor determining the priority direction of the development of economic relations.

In the five years of its activity, the Supreme Soviet has adopted quite a few laws and resolutions connected with the regulation of economic relations. However, in my view, the absence of a consistent line—or, if you like, a thought-out strategy directed at sorting out legislation in this area—is a shortcoming in the work of the Supreme Soviet. The laws and resolutions passed are often of a contradictory nature, and do not bind together. [passage omitted]

In carrying out his powers in the sphere of foreign policy, the president of the republic has proceeded from the following considerations: First, the need to affirm the Republic of Belarus in today's world as a sovereign, independent state. Second, the formation of mutually advantageous relations with all states of the CIS, and the development of both bilateral and multilateral cooperation with them, on condition of deepening priority relations with the Russian Federation and the fraternal Russian people. Third, proceeding from the geopolitical position of the Republic of Belarus as a central European state, we have tackled the question of establishing and developing relations with the countries of western, central, and eastern Europe, aiming to balance the eastern and western interests of our state. And fourth, the creation of favorable conditions for cooperation with supra-national and international organizations, such as the European Community, the IMF, the World Bank, and the EBRD.

Fifth, as you probably already know—and this is for the information of loudmouths who are asserting that there is no reform in the Republic of Belarus, and that Belarus is not respected in the world—yesterday you misfired for the second time, gentlemen; yesterday, the European Union ratified the assistance to the Republic of Belarus worth an additional $100 million.

There have been quite a few multilateral and bilateral agreements signed recently with countries of the CIS, the European Union, China, the Republic of Lithuania, Belgium, Iran, and Great Britain. Among them, esteemed deputies of the Supreme Soviet, I would like to single out our accords with Russia. As you know, I signed a large-scale treaty on behalf of Belarus on friendship, good- neighborliness, and cooperation between the Republic and the Russian Federation. This treaty allows a fundamental change in relations with CIS countries and the start of the integration process, which is supported by the overwhelming majority of the CIS peoples.

The strengthening of our relations with Russia on the road of mutual economic penetration is a fundamental factor for Belarus in emerging from the crisis and stabilizing many aspects of the republic's internal life. I mean the political, economic, social, historical, cultural, and especially the spiritual and ethical aspects directly linked with the celebration of the 50th anniversary of the great victory, and the restoration of the historical closeness of the Slav peoples. To deny the profound significance of this treaty means not respecting history and the past and present, which the fraternal Belarusian and Russian peoples have created, are creating, and will continue to create.

Quite a few agreements have also been recently signed with Russia on other matters. However, after they were signed we came up against fairly harsh criticism of some of the agreements on the part of the nationalist wing of political forces, primarily on the part of the BPF [Belarussian People's Front] opposition in the Supreme Soviet, and especially their leaders outside even the former Soviet Union, and I shall outline these incidents to you at the end of my report. This applies to the agreement on the customs union, the basic principles for setting up Belarusian-Russian financial and industrial groups, the procedure for completing construction, utilization, and maintenance of the Baranovichi site, the missile warning system, and the procedure for using the Vileyka radio station.

I think that many mps understand that the BPF opposition is using this factor in order to wreck the treaty at any cost, and to prevent the strengthening of relations between Belarus and Russia. I will not dwell in detail now on the agreements in question, which you have the opportunity to read. At the same time, I want to stress that the agrements signed with the Russian Federation are, first and foremost, agreements between sovereign states, equal subjects of international law. There is no damage to the interests of the republic here. What is more, and you know this as well, with the aim of implementing the agreement in question, Russia has decided to allocate to us a 150 billion [currency not specified] credit on favorable terms.

The questions of supplies of oil and natural gas on favorable, acceptable prices to the republic, considerably lower than for other Commonwealth countries, have been decided. We consider that the Government has the right to conclude these agreements with Russia. This is within its rights, and there is no violation of the Constitution here. In conclusion (?of this section), I want to say that while this Government and this president are in

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power, we will maintain the very friendliest relations with Russia, even if another similar opposition to today's emerges and opposes it. [passage omitted]

I would like to direct your attention to two other problems concerning the stability of our state—the issue of holding elections to the Supreme Soviet and local soviets, and holding a republic-wide referendum. First and foremost I want to direct the attention of the Supreme Soviet to the following: In point one of the 23 February 1994 resolution of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet on the organization and holding of elections to the Supreme Soviet of the republic of the 13th convocation, the elections of the new parliament are designated for 14 May 1995. You consider that the five years of your authority expire exactly on 14 May. I have already indicated that the Supreme Soviet and its Presidium have passed statements on holding pre-term elections. These statements have remained appeals which the Supreme Soviet did not and does not intend (?to honor). [passage omitted]

I think that it is a matter of your honor and duty, and I am calling on you—esteemed deputies and my former colleagues—to make the relevant decision yourselves on giving up your authority as deputies. I have the right to put forward a proposal, and you have the right to make a relevant decision. On your part, the president and the Belarusian nation expect an even more balanced and highly moral step: a voluntary laying down of your powers in the nearest future. I think that the Supreme Soviet should work this week—should clean up, to put it colloquially, what has not been finished—and adopt the most important legislative acts. I mean the ratification of agreements with Russia and others that concern our economy and are needed badly by it. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately, I have already had to use my powers under the Constitution with regard to the dismissal of Deputy Syaredzich, the chief editor of NARODNAYA GAZETA. [passage omitted] It was not just a matter of the latest inflammatory article by a non-existent author, which openly called for bloodshed, violence, and civil disobedience in society. The basic question is the honest, constructive position of a state publication of the Supreme Soviet such as NARODNAYA GAZETA. The paper does not have such a position and has not had it for a long time, esteemed deputies. You yourselves recognized this and tried to solve the problem.

The paper has become the paper of one well-known party, one famous person, and has violated its official status as a state publication. In this way it is out of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Soviet. The paper consciously abandoned the fulfillment of its basic professional principles of journalism connected with the provision of equal opportunities for all writers, parties, and socio-political movements. The internal activity of the paper was built on harsh censorship and selection of political views. Precisely for this reason the dominant themes in the paper were propaganda for nationalism and Russophobia, and discreditation of the policy and economic course of the state and its officials. [passage omitted]

The question of the morality of the mass media deserves close attention by the state and the public, because elections to the Supreme Soviet are upcoming. According to preliminary data, 15-25 candidates are expected to stand in every constituency. Their total number may exceed 3,500. In these conditions it is extremely difficult to ensure equal opportunities to candidates to use the mass media. In this connection I have signed a decree regulating the provision of equal opportunities to candidates to use local radio and local press exclusively in those constituencies in which they are standing. As president of the republic and head of state, I must not give preference to specific political parties and candidates in this election campaign. However, I am simply obliged to ensure they have equal opportunities in preparing for the election.

I would like to tell you something about this decree before you read it. Your were right, deputies, to raise the issue of dirty money, which may be used today in the election campaign. As head of state, I tell you that this will not be allowed. The decree unambiguously stresses that if a commercial structure—I have in mind primarily commercial structures—finance this or that candidate by various means, even indirectly, that commercial structure will be immediately abolished. [passage omitted]

Finally, citizens of the Republic of Belarus and many mps—some 100—have appealed to me to hold a republic-wide referendum. Indeed there are a number of matters on which one would like to know the opinion of the people. We discussed these questions and have singled out some of the most important ones. Primarily we are talking about the status of the Russian language in the Republic of Belarus, the state symbols, the establishment of closer economic relations with the Russian Federation, and on giving equal powers to the president, such as are enjoyed by the Supreme Soviet.

Therefore, I am using my constitutional right and—in accordance with Article 74 of the Constitution of the Republic of Belarus—I am proposing a republic-wide referendum that should be scheduled for 14 May, simultaneously with the elections to the Supreme Soviet. Elections held simultaneously with a referendum will make it possible to reduce costs on these two large social and political campaigns. I will submit the questions for the referendum to the Supreme Soviet by the end of the day.

I consider that the Supreme Soviet should support these proposals of the president, proposals from the broad public of the republic and deputies, and should hold a republic-wide referendum. This is not so much the view of the president as of the people of Belarus, which, on 10 July last year voted for a program which spoke of the need to hold a referendum as a fundamental factor of achieving stability in our society. [passage omitted]

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Esteemed deputies! I do not want you to view some of the sharp point in my speech as an attack against the Supreme Soviet. No. Taking advantage of my right, I wanted openly to express, perhaps a little sharply, my understanding of these processes. In conclusion, I assure you that as president, neither today nor tomorrow, nor the day after, will I initiate any actions which would destabilize the situation in the Republic of Belarus. I will always hold sacred the beliefs of our Belarusian people and its basic traits. After all, I am perfectly well aware that we are at the center of Europe, and not only will the international community not accept various sharp political movements on the part of the president, but also our people—who are devoted to a quiet life—will never accept it. I assure you of this.

Esteemed deputies! I know that my speech here is far from being unambiguously understood by the deputies of the Supreme Soviet. I can see some sneering on the part of some deputies. So what? Smile away, but I am convinced that the majority of those in this hall understand in their hearts what the president has said. [passage omitted] Thank you for listening.

Lukashenka on Legislature, State Symbols, Press

WS2203133595 Minsk BTK Television Network in Belarusian 1905 GMT 21 Mar 95

[Video report by V. Kharkow and S. Helbakh]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka's speech today has undoubtedly become the central event in the Oval Hall of parliament. In his speech, which lasted over an hour and dotted many i's, the president discussed the activity of the Supreme Soviet rather critically at times and determined problematic aspects in the mutual interaction between the head of state and the highest legislative body. The speech also regarded the measures adopted by the president to improve the political and economic stability in the country. Taking into account the fact that the speech was televised live and that it will be retransmitted tonight, we are not going to report on it in detail. We will cite only one passage, but a quite expressive one.

[Begin Lukashenka recording, in Russian] Esteemed People's Deputies! Here is an answer to your first question: You should not provoke me to take various actions that tomorrow may be declared unconstitutional by you. I think it to be your duty and your honor—and I appeal to you, Esteemed Deputies, my former colleagues—please, adopt an appropriate resolution on renouncing your deputy powers on your own. [end recording]

Following the president's address and his answers to deputies' questions, an impromptu news conference for journalists was held during one of the breaks. The president confirmed his position on a number of fundamental issues.

[Begin Lukashenka recording, in Russian] Regarding my proposal, its essence is not in the Supreme Soviet itself. The essence of the proposal is in the danger of a precedent. You know, today one Supreme Soviet has desired to prolong not only its powers, but also the term of its activity; tomorrow another will want to do this again. Therefore, one cannot permit such precedents.

I was speaking about a new coat of arms and flag, one which has not existed in the history of the Republic of Belarus, but which is based on ones of the past. There are elements of the old coat of arms; there is even an element of the current coat of arms. However, we will present you with a color picture of it tomorrow, and you will be able to see these proposals. If the people say no [in a national referendum], the old state symbols will remain.

Are we a neutral state? Yes, we are. Are we a peace-loving state? Yes, we are. For what are our people most notable? For their industriousness and peacefulness. As for our coat of arms [bearing an armed knight on horseback], to what does it appeal? Have you never thought about it? Why should we share the same coat of arms as a neighboring country [Lithuania]? Cannot we—the Belarusians—have our own coat of arms and flag? We can. So let us resolve this question through a referendum.

Regarding the tactics of the presidential administration, its head, and the president himself, toward the mass media, I want to tell you the following. There will be only one principle in relations with the press. I was rebuked for this, but I dare to stress this once again: Objectivity is the principle. As far as this is possible, even though it is rather a philosophical category, and it is difficult to determine this. Objectivity, decency, and exactness. [end recording]

As for parliament, it tried to resume its proceedings, but things were, understandably, rather confused.

Election Commission Chairman Welcomes President's Support

WS2203144195 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1300 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Alyaksandr Abramovich, chairman of the Belarusian Central Election Commission, commented on Belarusian President Alyaksandr Lukashenka's (?intention) to issue an edict providing equal opportunities for candidates running for Supreme Soviet deputy seats in the following way: We have not yet obtained an official text of this edict. If it is, however, truly aimed at providing equal opportunities for all candidates for deputy posts, we will just welcome it, because the executive branch—according to legislation—has considerable opportunities to support the organization and holding of elections, first of all, to allocate material resources, transportation, housing facilities, and so on. But these (?norms) must only be based on the Constitution and the Law on Elections.

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Council Completes Draft National Security Concept

LD2203173695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 16[illegible] GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Minsk, Mar 22 (INTERFAX-WEST)—Belarus experts have completed the drafting of the country's national security concept, Anatoliy Tozik, head of the National Security Council analytical research and forecasting department, told INTERFAX.

He explained that the draft broke the country's national interests down into several sections: political, economic, environment, humanitarian and information.

The political national interests of Belarus are said to be the maintaining of peace and stability in international relations, especially in Europe and the CIS, consolidating Belarus's sovereignty, making its borders inviolable and safeguarding its territorial integrity.

The draft formulates Belarus's military interests as "maintaining an optimal ratio of defense needs, to satisfy the principle of defense sufficiency, to the interests of the country's socioeconomic development and Belarus armed forces never taking part, directly or indirectly, in armed conflicts outside Belarus."

The concept draft is expected to be submitted to the Supreme Soviet at the end of March.

Ministry Drafts 1995 Plan for Privatization

WS2303111095 Minsk BELAPAN in English 1800 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] In accordance with presidential decree No. 101 "On Measures for the Improvement of Reformation of State Property" from 3 March this year, the Ministry for State Property Control and Privatization has submitted a draft program for destatization and privatization of state enterprises under the Republican jurisdiction in 1995, as well as a draft government resolution "On the Program for Destatization and Privatization of State Property in 1995" to the Cabinet of Ministers. According to the draft resolution, the government departments should ensure the work of commissions to transform state and leased enterprises into open joint-stock companies, and to submit their proposals for the privatization of state-owned enterprises for 1996 before 15 October this year. The draft resolution also envisages the transformation of enterprises into joint-stock companies in the first six months of this year according to the applications that were received from labor collectives in 1995.

Economics Ministry Plan To Settle Energy Debts

WS2303110995 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0800 GMT 23 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A variety of Belarusian ministries and departments have submitted a proposal—regarding the settlement of debts for delivered natural gas from Russian enterprises—for consideration by the government, said Uladzimir Naydenow, chairman of the Office of Fuel Industry in the Belarusian Ministry of Economy, to the (?agency of oil information).

According to data provided by the BelTransHaz State Enterprise, which handles gas transits, the Belarusian debt for Russian gas was put at $417 million, as of 1 March 1995. According to calculations made by the Belarusian Ministry of Economy, debts to the sum of around $100 million could be settled through domestic sources within two years, provided that a most severe economic campaign for utilizing energy resources is organized. To partly settle debts, it is planned to raise energy tariffs. To accomplish the same purpose, it is also possible—according to experts from the above-mentioned ministry—to sell stock in Belarusian enterprises worth $70 million to Russia, and it was also proposed that a portion of debts for gas be paid off by participating in the construction of the Belarusian portion of Yamal-West Europe gas pipeline.

Moldova

Chisinau Faulted for Slowdown in Dniester Talks

MK2203124095 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 22 Mar 95 p 4

[Report by Yuriy Selivanov under the "Settlement" rubric: "Moldova Takes Time Out. Chisinau Losing Interest in Talks With Dniester Region"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The scuttling of another round of talks aimed at a settlement of the Dniester problem, set for mid-March between Chisinau and Tiraspol, has perplexed many observers. Dniester Republic of Moldova President Igor Smirnov diplomatically suggested, talking to our correspondent, that the Moldovan representatives did not come to the talks for valid reasons. In particular, he pointed to the fact that Moldova President Mircea Snegur is on vacation, and Nicolae Osmocescu, head of the Chisinau delegation at the expert-level talks, has been appointed to take the higher position of chairman of the Republic of Moldova Constitutional Court. Behind the scenes in Tiraspol, however, they say that Chisinau is being so unaccommodating for much more serious reasons. The scuttling of the talks is being primarily attributed to the recent visit to Chisinau by Miguel Martinez, Council of Europe secretary general. The latter made it clearly understood that the council does not intend to make Moldova's Council of Europe membership conditional on a settlement of the Dniester problem. This being so, there is no sense for Chisinau to press on with the talks with Tiraspol. The more so because in the Moldovan capital they are convinced that time is not on Dniester's side. This conviction draws largely on the progress of the 14th Russian Army's pullout. Despite the fact that the corresponding Russia-Moldova agreement is yet to be ratified by the Russian Federation State Duma, the withdrawal

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of troops has virtually begun. The property and equipment of Russian Army combat engineer brigades deployed there are being loaded on trains in the Dniester towns of Ribnita and Dubossary. It is not ruled out that a practical pullout of other subunits will also begin in the very near future. Although the withdrawal of troops has been formally synchronized with the reaching of a political settlement of the Dniester problem, there is nothing to indicate this condition is to be observed.

It is for this reason that the Dniester side is continuing to step up efforts to prevent the elimination of the Russian military presence in the region. Devoted to solving this task was also the recent trip to Moscow by a group of Dniester Republic of Moldova Supreme Soviet deputies, during which meetings with State Duma deputies took place. The question of the future of the 14th Army has been put to a national referendum which will take place on 26 March. Its outcome raises no doubts—the absolute majority of Dniester people see in the Russian troops the only guarantee of keeping peace in this troubled region.

Government Will Talk if Students End Demonstrations

LD2203230095 Moscow NTV in Russian 1900 GMT 22 Mar 95

[Report by Yelena Barteshevich]

[FBIS Translated Text] This is the third day students and teachers from the capital's higher education institutes have been gathering in Chisinau's central square. Two independent trade unions and a number of work collectives declared solidarity with them today.

The reason for the demonstration is the decision by the collegium of the Ministry of Education to re-examine the concept for teaching national history. For four years already the course has been called the history of Romania, which defines fully its contents. The new concept proposes a return to teaching the history of Moldova. The ministry's decision keeps fully within the parameters of the leading party's policy on creation of an independent Moldovan state. First the national anthem was changed, then the Constitution was strengthened by a definition of the Moldovan people and the Moldovan language, and now the concept for teaching the history of the state is being re-examined.

However, a not insignificant proportion of the population does not support this course and today's action has demonstrated this for all to see. The increasing actions by the students have become a topic of discussion for Moldova's parliament and government.

[Begin recording] [Georgiy Ozhog, captioned as deputy premier of the Republic of Moldova] A government commission decided at 1430 today to come to the negotiating table; however, we will come to the table and hold talks only if the students and schoolchildren leave the square and begin classes. [end recording]

A representative of the republic's procuracy declared the intention to call to account the organizers of the unsanctioned demonstration. For their part the students are also full of fervors. So the electorate will not be bored on the eve of municipal elections.

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Armenia

President Receives Visiting Russian Defense Minister

NC2203203695 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1950 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] On 22 March, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan received a delegation of the Russian Armed Force headed by Defense Minister Pavel Grachev.

The presidential press service reported that in greeting the Russian officers, the Armenian president stressed the importance of the agreement signed in Moscow recently between Armenia and Russia, and expressed his conviction that it will help [words indistinct].

In response, Grachev thanked [passage indistinct].

On the Armenian side, State Minister Vazgen Sargisyan, Defense Minister Serzh Sargisyan, Interior Minister Vano Siradeghyan and other officials were present at the meeting.

Grachev Praises Treaty on Russian Base

LD2203190295 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1736 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan March 22 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev came to Yerevan on Wednesday [22 March] to inspect a russian military base in Armenia. Russian troops in the republic were granted this status under a treaty signed by Russian and Armenian presidents in Moscow last Thursday.

Armenia is the first state with which Russia concluded a military treaty at the presidential level, Grachev said after arrival. "This is the treaty on the Russian military base in Armenia", he said.

The defence minister highly appraised the document saying that it sets legal grounds for Russian servicemen stay on the Armenian territory. "Now, the task of executives—the defence ministers—is to specify issues related to the (military) base in more detail", Grachev said.

Grachev is to discuss prospects for Russian-Armenian military and political cooperation with the Armenian president and other leaders of the republic. He will also supervise preparations for the first joint military exercise of Russian and Armenian troops to be held on March 29.

The minister is accompanied by a large team of officers and generals of the Russian Defence Ministry and the Russian general headquarters.

Grachev Cuts Short Armenia Visit

LD2203194995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1857 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan, Mar 22 (INTERFAX)—Russian Defense Chief Pavel Grachev "spoke in specific terms of the setting up or a Russian military base" in Armenia during his talks with President Levon Ter-Petrosyan. In particular, the financing and logistics of the base which is, under a bilateral agreement, to be set up in the northern town of Gyumri were discussed. According to Grachev, the Armenian leaders accepted the Russian arguments and proposals.

Another item on the agenda of the meeting was a joint Russian-Armenian tactical exercise in Armenia which is to be staged for the first time there. The 128th Motorized Regiment, artillery of the Russian Army Group in Transcaucasia and the army air force will be involved in the exercise.

The stationing of more Russian units in mutually-agreed strategic locations was also discussed. This discussion will continue late on March 22 and early on March 23.

Grachev said that he canceled his trip to Gyumri due to having to attend the National Security Council session in Moscow, which will discuss preparations for the Victory Day celebrations.

Grachev: Talks 'Successful'

LD2303105495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1042 GMT 23 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tigran Liloyan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Yerevan March 23 TASS—Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev believes the talks with Armenian leaders were "good and successful". Before flying from Yerevan to Moscow on Thursday [23 March] he told reporters: "We have discussed in detail with President Levon Ter-Petrosyan and with the Armenian military leadership further actions in accordance with the treaty on a Russian military base in Armenia signed a week ago in Moscow. There were no disputed questions".

The minister said that a detailed plan for the implementation of the treaty will be worked out by experts.

Grachev said that preparation is now under way for the first joint Russo-Armenian tactical exercise to be held in south west Armenia late in March.

Armenian Defence Minister Serzh Sarkisyan said the Russo-Armenian military-political cooperation "is now better than ever".

Cease-Fire Said Broken on Northeast Border

NC2203202395 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1539 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 22/03/95 NOYAN TAPAN—Late on March 21 and on the night of March 22 Azeri armed units violated the cease-fire on Armenia's northeast border. The Armenian Defense Ministry reports that from 11:30 pm to 4:00 am Azeri formations shelled

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defensive positions of the village of Berdavan in Armenia's Noyemberian region, and from 12:15 am to 12:30 am defensive positions of the village of Voskevan.

From 12:30 to 2:00 the Azeri units shelled defensive positions of the villages of Achajur, Sarigyugh and Vazashen in Armenia's Ijevan region. No casualties were reported. The Armenian border troops took adequate measures to make Azeris cease shelling.

No incidents were reported on other sections of the Armenian-Azeri border.

Report on Central Bank's Foreign Exchange Reserves

NC2203205695 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1357 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 22/03/95 NOYAN TAPAN—Recently, the Chairman of the Armenian Central Bank Bagrat Asaturyan has appeared with an analysis of Armenia's fiscal and crediting policy in 1994. Among the achievements, Bagrat Asaturian pointed out the formation of foreign exchange reserve equivalent to 31,000,000 U.S. dollars, internal convertibility of the dram and stability of the dram rate. The decrease of the dram against the U.S. dollar constituted: 39.8 percent—for the first quarter of 1994; 16.7 percent—for the second quarter, 3 percent—for the third quarter and 6.6 percent—for the fourth quarter of 1994.

Status of Communist Party Regarding Elections

NC2203205595 Yerevan NOYAN TAPAN in English 1357 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] 22/03/95 NOYAN TAPAN—The leader of the Armenian Communist Party Sergey Badalyan announced that the Communist Party of Armenia is not going to become a member of the Alliance of National Accord, but at the same time did not exclude the possibility of cooperation with other parties on different levels.

"Our cooperation with this or that party will depend on how identical the principles of this party will be to those outlined in our election program," Badalyan said. According to him, the main principles of the party are: reconstruction of the renewed socialism, establishment of relations with Russia, establishment of the new Union, in which Armenia will maintain its status of the subject of international law.

Documents Link Dashnak Party to KGB

954F1825A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 15 Mar 95 p 2

[Article by Armen Khanbabyan: "The Dashnaks—Enemies of the Karabakh Movement? A Document Testifying to the Close Collaboration of the Dashnaktsutyun and the KGB Has Been Made Public"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Despite the Armenian Supreme Council's official suspension of the activity of the Dashnaktsutyun Party, the national socialists are continuing to take an active part in the election marathon. The latest meeting of the opposition in Yerevan's Theater Square, which culminated in a demonstration outside the presidential palace, assembled no fewer than 40,000 persons, the majority of the participants, judging by the abundance of red flags with party symbols, being supporters of the Dashnaks, what is more. The mass nature of the measure was secured thanks to the transfer to Yerevan of party activists from the suburban areas. Although the Dashnaks have been deprived de jure of the possibility of running their candidates for parliament, they are counting on winning victories by nominating themselves as independents on the majority principle. In addition, their candidates will, most likely, run on the slates of certain small parties also. A tacit alliance with the Dashnaks would afford some of them an opportunity to get their representatives elected as well.

In the opinion of many observers, the image of "the persecuted" that the Dashnaks acquired following the Supreme Council's decision could assist their palpable success at the elections. But sympathy for the party could weaken in the wake of a highly sensational document testifying to the Dashnaktsutyun's undoubted ties to the KGB that was published recently. The existence of such ties had been stated formerly by General Oleg Kalugin and General Yuzbashyan, a former leader of Armenia's special service, who was subsequently killed, which afforded an indirect pretext for suspecting the Dashnaks of having meted out reprisals against the inconvenient witness.

On this occasion all the hints of the accusation acquired documented corroboration in the form of a top-secret memorandum of Badamyants, chairman of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic KGB, to Suren Arutyunyan, first secretary of the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee. The memorandum, which was dated 28 October 1988, is entitled "Position of the Dashnaktsutyun on Nagornyy Karabakh." The document says, in part, that in September of that same year the KGB "worked" with party leader Marukhyan and Bureau member Tasnapetyan "to exert a political influence on them favorable to the USSR." The work was, by all accounts, productive, since "the Dashnak leaders declared that they fully share the basic propositions of the report at the Communist Party of Armenia Central Committee September Plenum, on the issue of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic included." The Dashnak leaders were so imbued with the spirit of the September Plenum that they promised "to make every effort to continue to restrain the diaspora from any actions of an anti-Soviet nature." They undertook in this connection to exert the appropriate pressure on the Armenian editorial office of Radio Liberty, and also "to adopt measures to localize and thwart the anti-Soviet activity of Ayrikyan, who has been deported from the USSR." We would note that Paruyr Ayrikyan, a prominent figure of

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the present opposition and leader of the National Self-Determination Association, recently entered into a political bloc with the Dashnaktsutyun, and it will be very interesting for him, most likely, to learn of the past intrigues of his present allies. Aside from this, the Dashnaks agreed that only "the victory of perestroyka in the USSR will afford new prospects of a political resolution of the Karabakh problem" and condemned for this reason "all forms of extremism in the approaches to its resolution." It is fitting to recall that it was precisely in the period described that the formation of the self-defense force, which was at that time regarded as the sole guarantee against the repetition of the Sumgait events, began in Karabakh. It was this force that it had been decided to call "extremist." Yet subsequently the Dashnaks did not tire of maintaining that they were at the sources of the organization of the Karabakh defenses and that it was thanks to their support and direct participation that the Karabakh Army won all its victories. Such assertions are, as it turns out, considerably exaggerated. In addition, the Dashnaks even blocked the trip of a Karabakh delegation to Venice, where a conference on the Karabakh problem was to have been held in 1988.

The leaders of the Armenian KGB also reported that the Dashnak leaders were keeping all the promises and assurances they had given and condemning the calls for Armenia's independence. It was reported that "the KGB of the republic is adopting additional measures to exert a positive influence on the Dashnaktsutyun leadership."

It is obvious that the publication of the 1988 memorandum will evoke an extremely nervous response in the socialists, who will attempt, most likely, to dissociate themselves in one way or another from what is stated in the document. But it is easy to assume that the collaboration of the party leaders and the KGB was of a prolonged and stable nature and left many such footprints. With the approach of election day, new exposures may be expected, particularly if the Dashnaks continue to ignore the Supreme Council's decision and refuse to make changes ruling out the presence within the party's steering bodies of foreign citizens. In addition, many sensations could also be produced by the trial of combatants of the Dro sabotage detachment, whose activity is now being investigated. If an organizational link between the detachment and the party's political leadership is proven in court, a ban on the Dashnaktsutyun's activity on the territory of Armenia will be inevitable.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev Supports Turkish Operation Against PKK

TA2303112795 Ankara TRT Television Network in Turkish 2110 GMT 22 Mar 95

[Enver Delikci video report from Baku]

[FBIS Translated Text] Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev has expressed the conviction that Turkey will soon uproot the assailants who aim at disrupting Turkey's unity and solidarity. Aliyev declared that the activities of the separatist PKK [Workers Party of Kurdistan] organization disturb Azerbaijan very much. Aliyev received Turkish Ambassador to Baku Altan Karamanoglu and conferred with him for some time. Enver Delikci reports from Baku:

[Begin recording] [Delikci] During the meeting, Karamanoglu relayed to Aliyev the congratulatory messages sent to the Azerbaijani president by President Suleyman Demirel and Prime Minister Tansu Ciller. Karamanoglu also briefed Aliyev on the cross-border operation launched by the Turkish Armed Forces against the PKK in north Iraq.

Aliyev, in his statement, said that he is following the cross-border operation with great curiosity and care. He declared: We are extremely disturbed by the aggressive activities of the PKK against the integrity of the Turkish state. Stressing that the Turkish state is a powerful, Aliyev noted that he does not doubt that a tranquil atmosphere will be established in Turkey. Aliyev asked for God's mercy in the name of those who were martyred in this operation aimed at protecting Turkey's unity and integrity and extended his condolences to the Turkish people.

Referring to the incidents experienced in Azerbaijan last week, Aliyev said:

[Aliyev in Azeri] The heads of state and government in Turkey acknowledged that the incidents in Azerbaijan were our internal affair and shared our problem. They rejoiced in our victory. This was very pleasing and natural, because our countries are very close friends and brothers and we do not expect anything less. [end recording]

Group of Russians Killed During OPON Storming

NC2203140795 Baku TURAN in English 1234 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (March 22) TURAN—On March 17 early in the morning during the storm of the OPON [Special Purpose Police Detachment] headquarters by the governmental forces in the 8th kilometre district the group of Russia's special services was liquidated, the credible military source told Turan.

Several persons in sporting clothes and armed with guns attempted to break away from the encirclement when the governmental troops began tightening the ring around the headquarters. "They were breaking forming the 'wedge' and fired while running. Their fighting manner differed from those of thee OPON employees. However, they managed to break on 30-35 metres and then they were stopped by the machine-gun fire of the commandos", the source said.

During examination of the corpses of the group, it has been found out that they all have the Slavonic appearance and some of them have the documents proving their belonging to the Russian special services, the source mentions.

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The credible sources report that the Deputy [Acting] Minister of National Security, Namik Abbasov, acknowledged this fact during the meeting on March 19, 1995 in the Presidential staff.

Interior Ministry Subject to 'Political Cleaning'

NC2203142595 Baku TURAN in English 1158 GMT 22 Mar 95

["Political Cleaning in Azerbaijan's Ministry of Interior"—TURAN headline]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (March 22) TURAN—Last night 12 Senior Officers of the Ministry of Interior were relieved of their posts, the credible source from the Ministry reports. Among those officers there are: the Chief of the Management for Social Security, Fatulla Huseynov, the Chief of the Management for Guarding, Mazahir Aliyev, the Chief of the Management for Interregional relations, Azai Kerimov, the Chief of the Special Department, Gazal Damirov, the Chief of the military police of the Yevlahk region, two of his Deputies, the Chief of the Fire Guard in the Ministry of Interior, Said Mamedov, as well as the Chiefs of the police of the Ali-Bairamli region, Eldar Guliyev.

The same source reports that part of those officers are dismissed due to their ages and the other part are dismissed as "close friends of Rovshan Javadov".

At the same time the chief of police of the Babek region of Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic, Oruj Zalov, was appointed the Chief of the Headquarters of the Ministry of Interior yesterday.

Abbasov Appointed Minister of National Security

NC2203194695 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1837 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Geydar Aliyev has decreed the appointment of Namik Abbasov as the minister of national security.

Parliament Deputies Briefed on Recent Events

NC2203155495 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1250 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The recent tense developments in our republic were discussed at today's regular session of the National Assembly. Gulsefa Ahmedova reports:

[Begin recording] [Ahmedova] Gasan Abbasov, chairman of the Legal Affairs Commission, briefed the deputies on the joint report prepared by the Prosecutor's Office, and Interior, National Security, and Defense Ministries on the latest developments linked with the coup attempt.

The report says that the internal and external enemies of Azerbaijan's statehood and independence attempted to revive their failed coup attempt of last October by using the Interior Ministry's Special Purpose Police Detachment [OPON]. The incidents began with the disruption of the social security and the occupation of the state and police buildings in Kazakh and Akstafa regions by some criminal groups. It ended with bloodshed. Measures were taken and a considerable amount of military hardware was seized from these criminal groups that attempted the coup d'etat.

According to the report, a group from OPON headed by the Javadov brothers and some forces who joined them disrupted the peace in Baku too and committed dangerous crimes against the state. The entire force and means of the Prosecutor's Office and Internal Ministry's organs were mobilized in view of the situation, public security was strengthened, and measures were taken to prevent any possible sabotage.

Before starting the debate, reports were heard from Acting Prosecutor General Eldar Gasanov, Interior Minister Ramil Usubov, and Acting National Security Minister Namik Abbasov at the suggestion of Chairman of Supreme Soviet Rasul Guliyev.

The tension in the Republic arising from the criminal actions perpetrated by OPON in Kazakh, Akstafa, and Tauz regions against our statehood and independence, the disruption of the peace by antipopular forces, and harmful movements aimed at undermining our statehood were taken up during the debate. It was noted that following operations, hundreds of criminals involved in the coup attempt have been detained, some of their supporters have been caught, and 33 private and state institutions financing such groups, including various officials, have been identified.

It was noted that the necessary measures are being taken to expose the criminal designs in the state organs and other institutions and to fully eliminate the consequences of the crime.

It was stressed that yet another hideous goal of some political forces supported from without has failed, and thanks to the successful measures taken by the Republic's president the anticonstitutional movements have been obstructed and peace established.

The National Assembly continued deliberations after the recess. [end recording]

Acting Security Minister Reports on Mutiny

LD2203180095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1729 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sevindzh Abdulayeva and Viktor Shulman]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku March 22 TASS—About 50 Azerbaijani government officials are said to have been involved in the mutiny that was crushed in Baku on March 17, acting security minister Namik Abbasov said.

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Speaking in the Azerbaijani parliament on Wednesday [22 March], Abbasov said that he has information that a new coup is now being masterminded and that he is doing his best to prevent it.

He said that about 500 people were arrested for involvement in the mutiny. Most of them are former special police force (OPON) members. Among the arrested is a Turkey national, Farman Demirgol, who is believed to be one of the masterminds behind the last week's mutiny, as well as former Azerbaijani Interior Minister Iskander Gamidov, the leader of the republican party Boz Gurd (Gray Wolves).

The Azerbaijani People's Front was also said to have been involved in the mutiny, particularly ex-Foreign Minister Tofik Gasymov, who is one of the front activists and who met several times with rebels' leader Rovshan Javadov, trying to persuade him to cooperate with former Azerbaijani Presidents Abulfaz Elchibey or Ayaz Mutalibov.

Acting public prosecutor Eldar Gasanov believes that the recent events in Baku are closely connected with the October 1994 abortive coup attempt.

It was announced in Azerbaijan earlier today that 38 people were killed during the mutiny, including 22 troops, 10 rebels and six civilians.

These figures were cited in a joint report released by the public prosecutor's office, the Interior Ministry, the Security Ministry and the Defence Ministry.

The report also said that 60 troops and seven rebels were wounded as a result of the mutiny. All of them have been provided with medical assistance. At the same time, the authors of the report do not rule out the possibility that the actual casualties could be higher as some of the wounded and killed were picked up by their relatives.

Former Foreign Minister Gasimov Arrested

NC2203144595 Baku TURAN in English 1158 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (March 22) TURAN—Yesterday at 17.50 two policemen of the Sabail region of Baku came to the apartment of the People's Deputy and former Foreign Minister, Tofik Gasimov, and drove him away. The policemen told Tofik Gasimov that the Deputy Prosecutor General, Hanlar Veliyev, wishes to speak to him.

Tofik Gasimov waited for the Prosecutor General for more than six hours in his reception-room but Hanlar Veliyev was out. At midnight Gasimov accompanied by two policemen returned home and a little bit later he was again driven to the Prosecutor's Office of the republic.

On March 22 at 1.30 Tofik Gasimov was in the Prosecutor's Office waiting for Veliyev.

During the meeting in the Presidential staff on March [date as received] the top officials of the republic said that Tofik Gasimov as well as other persons "must bear responsibility for support of those persons, who prepared the coup".

The members of Tofik Gasimov's family said that he came back in the morning. He was called to the Prosecutor's Office as the witness for the case concerning the coup on March 17.

The leader of the Independent Democratic Party, Leila Yunusova, sees the activities of the authorities towards Tofik Gasimov as a premeditated psychological pressure. Yunusova says that the latest events testify to the fact that the authorities have begun the campaign of harassment of the political opposition.

Party Leader Criticizes Handling of OPON Mutiny

NC2203144395 Baku TURAN in English 1158 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (March 22) TURAN—The tragic events on March 17 should not be considered to be the use of army against the nation, the Chairman of the Party of National Independence, the People's Deputy Etibar Mamedov, told TURAN's correspondent.

Mamedov said that under the Constitution the President has right to use army, but according to the law on armed forces, the Milli Mejlis must give permission for that. "This difference between the law and the Constitution still remains. The Milli Mejlis has to act either in accordance with the Constitution or annul this law", Etibar Mamedov mentioned. Etibar Mamedov considers that President has the right to use the military force.

However, Etibar Mamedov thinks that from the very beginning of the events the Milli Mejlis has to be active and appease the conflicting parties, while it took the position of the detached on-looker creating the conditions for the bloodshed. "Having seen the indifference of the Parliament to the situation, the rebels strengthened their demands and Azeri President was compelled to use force against them", the leader of the Party of National Independence said. He considers that the Parliament also bears the part of the responsibility for the bloodshed.

Etibar Mamedov mentioned that the decree on disbanding of the OPON [Special Purpose Police Detachment] was issued and the OPON had to fulfill it. The Milli Mejlis had to explain the OPON anti-state character of their activities and necessity of subordination to the decree.

Explaining, why unlike October events of 1994 he was not the mediator to the conflict settlement this time, Etibar Mamedov said that the governmental bodies did not apply to him with such request. "The other party asked me not to interfere in this case, since they will not change their demands", he mentioned. The first conflict

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between the OPON and authorities on October 1-4 1994 was settled as a result of intensive mediatorial activity of Etibar Mamedov. That time he succeeded to "persuade" Rovshan Javadov to refuse of his demands on resignation of the leadership of the country. On October 4 President Aliyev in his televised address to the nation announced that the Prime-Minister, Suret Huseynov, attempts to commit the coup. The activities of the Elchibey government on June 4, 1993 against the 709th brigade subordinate to Suret Guseinov, which refused to fulfill the order of the Defense Ministry on disbanding and laying down of arms, were called by Etibar Mamedov use of military force against the nation. "Your hands are in blood and you must resign", Mamedov said in June 1993 in the Parliament addressing the speaker Isa Gambar.

According to the results of the investigation of the events of 1993 in Ganja, approximately 20 servicemen died during the military operation against the 709th Brigade.

According to official data, 38 persons including 6 non-combatant civilians died during suppression of the mutiny of the OPON in the 8th kilometre district.

Boz Gurd Party Protests Arrest of Leader

NC2203143095 Baku TURAN in English 1158 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku (March 22) TURAN—"The arrest of the Chairman of Boz Gurd [Grey Wolf] Party, the People's Deputy Iskender Gamidov, is of political character. This action is another illustration of brutal violation of human rights, basic democratic norms and political persecution", the statement of the political Council of Boz Gurd party reads.

The Political Council of Boz Gurd expressed protest due to this fact and recalled that People's Deputy Iskender Gamidov was arrested by the authorities without permission of the Milli Mejlis, that is the authorities violated the legislation of the country. The Parliament gave permission for arrest of the Deputy only a day later.

Boz Gurd party expressed regret due to unscrupulousness of the Azeri Parliament, which did not protect the democracy and legislation of the country.

The Political Council of the party appealed to the population, public and political organizations to express their protest due to arrest of Iskender Gamidov and not to let establishment of the dictatorship in the country.

Georgia

Military Base Agreement Ready for Signing

LD2203140795 Tbilisi IPRINDA in Russian 1315 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi [no date as received]—Before leaving Tbilisi for Yerevan, Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev held an improvised news conference on 22 March. According to Grachev, all tasks had been completed and the appropriate documents had been finalized during the course of his visit. If the parliaments of the two countries approved this agreement, it would then be signed by Yeltsin and Shevardnadze. Under the agreement Russia would use its four military bases on the territory of Georgia for 25 years with the subsequent right to extend the agreement.

For his part, Shevardnadze said that the positive resolution of the issue concerning the bases would be a guarantee of stability and a decision of paramount importance for both Georgia and Russia.

Rybkin, Georgian Envoy Discuss Cooperation

LD2103131595 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1303 GMT 21 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow March 20 ITAR-TASS—Chairman of the State Duma of the Russian Federation Ivan Rybkin today received Ambassador of the Republic of Georgia to Russia Vazha Lordkipanidze to discuss the development of comprehensive cooperation between the two countries.

The ambassador of Georgia expressed the hope that the complex processes underway in North Ossetia and Abkhazia would not act adversely on the strengthening of relations between Russia and Georgia.

Rybkin and Lordkipanidze assured each other that their respective countries are firmly determined to strengthen and upgrade bilateral economic, political and public relations.

Shevardnadze Faults Support for Reforms

954F1748A Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 10 Mar 95 p 3

[Speech by Eduard Shevardnadze at the Royal International Relations Institute in London on 16 February 1995: "The World Was Not Ready for the Collapse of Totalitarian"]

[FBIS Translated Text]

1985-1995

Ladies and Gentlemen!

However regrettable, I was once barred from a theater in this city. A trite reason: A group of demonstrators did not believe in the sincerity of the aspirations of the then minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. The London police gathered in force, but my desire had for some reason or other gone....

Public opinion is always right, even if it lags behind the course of events.

A good stage performance in London would have been a pretty good reward for a member of the Politburo for the

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proclaimed and realized departure from the "Brezhnev Doctrine," the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, and the renunciation of global confrontation with the West. Public opinion is not particularly farsighted but it could even at that time have spotted in the policy of perestroyka kernels of the coming epoch-making changes.

That day I was entirely deserving of my London theater ticket. Public opinion owed me.

I am afraid that today a similar bill would have to be presented to the strategists of Western democracy also. For their thinking was endowed even less than public opinion with a capacity for foreseeing the collapse of the bipolar world and its consequences: the velvet and not entirely velvet revolutions in East Europe, the unification of Germany, the surmounting of the division of Europe, the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and, finally, the emergence of new threats potentially no less destructive than those that we had managed to eliminate.

I could almost certainly be asked what I think of the end of the cold war. Before answering this question, I would like to ask you: Why did the world intellect in the shape of the world community, primarily the leading Western states, prove so bankrupt in the face of the rapid and ultimately uncontrollable transformation of the world?

For seven decades we had seen the Soviet Union as Enemy No. 1 and had tried in every way to crush it, Henry Kissinger told me in 1991. We had every reason, you will agree, to fear the Soviet threat, he continued. But now, when the Soviet Union is clearly leaving the ring, we feel neither satisfaction nor joy. Yes, the goals that we set have been achieved, but we have fallen into the trap that we ourselves designed and have found ourselves in a world for which we were not prepared.

This was an alarm signal, but it was turned on too late. The intoxication from the victory which, the West believed, it had won in the cold war was all too great. If this was a victory, meanwhile, it was undoubtedly Pyrrhic. As far as I am concerned, I am not entirely sure that the cold war has completely come to an end.

But if I am wrong and it really is played out, all the more should we have given considerable thought to the postwar arrangement of the world. Now, however, we are entitled to assert that this most prolonged world war of the century itself, which broke out after the bloodiest war in the history of mankind—World War II—has not motivated us to address the experience and example of our distant predecessors.

The Big Three leaders of the anti-Hitler coalition were divided by seemingly insuperable contradictions. But they were able to rise above them not only in the process of organization of the smashing of German fascism and its allies but also at the stage of the postwar arrangement of the world. Whatever view one takes of their decisions, the end of the war and the ensuing peace did not catch them unawares. They were ready for it. Ready primarily for a way of thinking and acting which was best formulated by Winston Churchill, who wished to see the world community as an effective force, not a mirage.

Nor have the Western allies been prepared to settle the big accounts of democracy. These bills were paid by realization of the Marshall Plan, which not only lifted West Europe up from the ruins but also preserved for its peoples the space of free development.

Nothing similar in terms of goals or scale was done in the anticipation of victory over the cold war which liberated the peoples from the power of totalitarianism. An event which in its scale and significance was equal to the end of World War II did not acquire an appropriate action strategy on the part of the world community under the conditions of the postconfrontation world. Having saved colossal sums in the culmination of the global opposition, the civilized world has not invested them in support of democracy and freedom in Russia and the other new independent states. The euphoria from the collapse of the bipolar world and totalitarian regimes and from the velvet revolutions and the fall of the Berlin Wall proved stronger than the instincts of security and considerations of common sense, which requires that peace be paid for lest it turn into its opposite.

In sum, we were unable to conduct a global mobilization of forces to avert new threats because, as distinct from the Western allies of the times of World War II, we were disconnected and unable to rise above narrow national egotistical interests.

In sum, the world acquired wars in the former Yugoslavia and a threatening development of events on one-sixth of the globe—in the former USSR. It acquired new threats whose summary destructive power is entirely comparable to a nuclear Armageddon, the danger of which, incidentally, has by no means receded irretrievably into the past.

In sum, we have not the universal triumph of the values of Western democracy, as contemplated, but an orgy in certain countries of petty nationalist dictatorships exploiting for their own ends small peoples' ethnic frustration complexes. The fascistizing regimes of Gamsakhurdia in Georgia and Ardzinba in Abkhazia and the odious Dudayev regime in Chechnya could be cited as examples here.

In sum, the gulf in the world between wealth and poverty, prosperity and depression, and the progress of some economies and the regression of others—a gulf that could suck into itself both the prosperous and the poverty-stricken worlds—is deepening.

I would also attribute to the results of this manifestly Pyhrric victory the more than obvious crisis of the liberal democratic philosophy, which in some cases appears as the failure of the crucial ideas of freedom and democracy.

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"You did not deserve your theater ticket!" I could be told, "for your entire activity was geared to such results. We see among them, together with the global and international threats, the tragic experience of your country also."

"Truly," I would reply, "the disarticulation of Georgia, the ethnic purge of my compatriots in Abkhazia, and the expulsion of hundreds of thousands of fellow citizens from the fatherland are the most convincing proof of the artificially modeled atonement for the incapacity for calculating and anticipating the course of events. The trouble is, however, that quite long since my vision of the possible rapid changes, and not only mine, encountered no response either from the strong of this world or from international organizations."

It could be said in this connection that the correlation between the glitter and indigence of world politics is changing by no means in favor of the first quality. We manifestly lack good-quality building material for the installation of institutions of the new times that could provide adequate responses to their global challenges.

Debate on this score drags on, as distinct from the debate of half a century ago. As, for example, at Yalta, where Stalin insisted on special status for the great powers, and Churchill, defending the small powers, expressed himself in approximately the following spirit: The eagle should not prevent the little birds from singing and should not worry about why they are singing.

Feeling no nostalgia for Stalin's ornithology, I disagree with my fellow countryman and am in sympathy with your compatriot. Especially since I represent a small country, which was in the past pecked quite pitilessly by the double-headed eagle. But today we, and not only we, are threatened not just by big birds of prey. Small feathered ones are coming together in large flocks and attacking with the ruthlessness of Alfred Hitchcock's birds.

If, however, we are to make do without the assistance of Aesop and to call things by their name, we are dealing under the conditions of the collapse of the bipolar world with nontraditional aggression and new-generation conflicts, in which the aggressive principle is not necessarily personified by the "strong" and the "big." Now, in a period of disintegration and fragmentation of states, large and small, destructive processes are being inspired by the aggressive activity of minorities. Beneath the sacred banners of national independence and nations' right to self-determination weapons of mass destruction are being seized and ethno-dictatorships destroying or subsequently driving out the "enemy nation," whose property is appropriated and redistributed, are being established.

These aggressions and conflicts are attracting, like a magnet, numerous mercenaries and "volunteers" along political, ethnic, and credal kinship lines. The phenomenal "strength of the weak" is being manifested in the blackmail of large states and international organizations and the imposition on them of the former's "rules of the game." The outer cover of ethnopolitical malaise and claims conceals, as a rule, criminal and pragmatic interests. Ramified internation cartels of arms dealers, drug traffickers, and hostage- takers are taking shape, politics is being criminalized, and the criminal world is being politicized.

Threatening the territorial integrity of the countries and the permanency of the borders in which the new aggressions and conflicts are unfolding, they are at the same time creating palpable threats to the stability of this state or the other, which are, nonetheless, endeavoring to use them in the interests of the expansion and restoration of the spheres of influence lost following the cold war.

All this sounds quite abstract until you see with your own eyes, as I have, a year-old baby child who has been flayed alive or the figures of refugees iced over in a mountain pass... all these nightmares and horrors of brutalized aggressive separatism are on a par with Hitler's brutalities and barbarism.

And then you say to yourself: If this is the price of independence and the right to self-determination, it goes far beyond the limits of human understanding. Then you begin to think that there is something wrong either with this right itself or with our notions of it.

If there are before your eyes fuehrers large and small of the end of the century shamelessly and brazenly exploiting in their own interests the idea of national independence, instigating ethnic cleansings and deportations, and destroying cities and whole countries, how can liberals and democrats recapture the compliments for the idea that the former have stained with blood?

If the territorial integrity of a state is for you a hollow sound, what, then, about the integrity of life?

The liberal democratic community, whether in Russia or in the West, has found itself among the debtors, not to say slaves, to false ideas forcing it to close its eyes to the crimes against humanity being perpetrated by the heroes of the new "national liberation movements." In addition, to justify and defend them, as does a respected British author in a respected British newspaper, rhetorically inquiring: "Is Abkhazia a part of Georgia? Or must our foreign secretaries continue to maintain this merely because this was what Stalin once said and because Moscow has since that time been repeating it?"

It is hard to imagine Douglas Hurd in the role of a follower of Stalin. But it is even harder to hold back a smile when reading that it was not centuries of our common history but he, Josef Stalin, who attributed Abkhazia to Georgia. I realize that a political detective story or espionage novel is written according to a strict intellectual format, but it should be sufficiently flexible so as not to founder under a load of cultural ignorance or imposed ideas.

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It is not part of my mission to deliver lectures on my country's 3,000-year history: Britain has its own fine experts, who could explain that Georgia, by virtue of its location and history, is the most sensitive string of the Caucasus. And if anyone, they would say, has wanted or now wants the Caucasus to sing his tune, he has for this either tightened or slackened or, altogether, severed this string—Georgia. Which has been done repeatedly in the past and has been done once again recently, use having been made for this of the nations with whom the Lord God mixed us in his frying plan.

The idea of self-determination must not become either an ax in the hands of latter-day messiahs of the end of the century nor birch rods in the hands of mentoring liberals. Discipline-of-the-rod punishments have, seemingly, been done away with, but whole countries are still being subjected to them, and whoever is doing this is forgetting, as it were, that the end of the century is at the doorstep. Yes, it is coming to an end, this century of the most destructive meta-ideas and super-ideologies, which have in all recent decades been opposed by the philosophy of humanitarian values with its central value of human life. It turns out, however, that we are prepared to sacrifice it also, this value, to our ideas and delusions, as was done before us by generations of fanatical supporters of various ideologies. It is also the case, I believe, that, having as a result of their failure lost some "ideal enemy," the democratic consciousness became flustered and began to dash about in search of a new one, but has not found it and has become utterly confused. All of us who have come in from the cold of the cold war—spies, diplomats, generals, politicians—are obliged to protect the traditional value systems from erosion. The idea of self-determination in particular. But to an even greater extent all of us, politicians primarily, need self-determination of the idea. We need its freedom and independence of the ideas of yesterday.

Having achieved freedom for our ideas, we will understand and see that the surrounding world has left us behind in its metamorphoses. That in this world, for example, the first estate has long since ceded pride of place to the fourth estate and is now, having traded places with it, forced to subordinate its decisions to its commands. That the dictatorship of this estate, the dictatorship of the television picture, horrifying millions with scenes of mass violence, is forcing us to adopt decisions of a humanitarian nature to the manifest detriment of political decisions. That wars, aggression, and conflicts exist for us to the extent that the electronic mass media can bring them into our homes. As they are now, for example, bringing the horrors of Chechnya, but are not bringing the nightmares of Abkhazia, where local separatism has perpetrated no less an evil. Your protest at the violations of human rights in Chechnya was imposed on you by the television camera, which, however, relieved you, as it were, of the need to protest in connection with the same violations in Abkhazia, whence terror and intimidation have expelled 300,000 of my compatriots. It is all very simple: The camera was in Chechnya and was not in Abkhazia because Thucydides' law: "The strong do what they want, the weak suffer as they must," operated here also.

Yet the Chechen tragedy began in Abkhazia, which aggressive separatism and postcommunist imperialism turned into a proving ground and touchstone of their intentions.

The Western public did not stumble against this stone—it simply did not appear on its television screens.

An honest, ruthless view of ourselves reveals to us not only the total exhaustion of the resources of the political intellect, which is no longer capable of finding answers to the most acute questions of the present day, and not only the lack of genuinely authoritative leadership in the formulation of ideas that are prospective for mankind but—and this is what is most deplorable, perhaps—the depletion of the world reserves of humanity, kindness, and anger at evil and a readiness to fight it.

What is happening, or what has already happened, is an habituation to violence, to crimes against humanity, which was unknown to the conscience and soul of those that experienced World War II. Belonging to the generation of "angry young men" of the 1960's, I ask myself and you: Have we lost forever the capacity for looking back in anger?

Can we in the year of the 50th anniversary of the victory over the greatest evil of the century not find ways toward victory over a multitude of new evils promising, as we now see, both a revival of the walls dividing the world and a revival of the cold war?

Negativism and despondency have never been held in high regard. Speaking in the spirit of the tradition of historical optimism, I should say that everything will be okay. That we will find the solution to all problems and will produce a blueprint of the most rational arrangement of the postconfrontation world. We will create a new system of European security, which, despite all its configurations and composition, will respond to the concerns of the East and Central European states and the legitimate apprehensions of Russia. We will be able to call things by their name, as we could at the time of the Persian [as published] crisis, terming Iraq's invasion of Kuwait aggression, and to which we simply cannot make up our minds to do today, in order to call separatism separatism, and genocide, genocide. We will halt this epidemic of the disintegration of states, whose consequences for peace could eclipse all the present horrors. We will adopt for this all the necessary, swift, and decisive measures, counting neither the cost nor criticism, which is concerned exclusively with the present day.

We will be so bold as, for example, not to substitute for peacekeeping operations the appeasement of the aggressor, and for the just restoration of flouted rights, the neutralism of international observation. We shall

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forswear a desire to leave everything as it is and the reluctance or incapacity for recognizing that the traditional methods of maintaining peace have lost their validity and are in need of modernization providing for new systems of legal regulation and rapid response in emergencies and crisis situations and, if necessary, measures of a police nature included. We will limit the power of the international bureaucracy, whose decisions are designed to secure for it peace of mind, but by no means universal peace.

I would very much like us to be able to find answers to all the agonizing questions of the times even now. To switch from debate to action. To replace fatigue with energy, apathy, with enthusiasm, despondency, with optimism, and disconnection, with unity. But if we cannot as yet find all this, let us at least muster the courage to tell one another the truth. Only the truth. And nothing but the truth.

Report Details 1994 Socioeconomic Situation

AU2303121795 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 3 Mar 95 p 2

[Georgian Socioeconomic Information Committee report: "A Difficult Year. The Republic of Georgia's Socioeconomic Situation in 1994"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Last year, in conditions of the serious socioeconomic crisis, a budget deficit, and hyperinflation, work continued on stabilizing the economy. The attempts by executive power to bring about a radical change in the negative trends that have embraced almost all spheres of the economy and social life have not brought the desired results. However, a turn toward economic reforms and the strengthening of market relations did clearly shape out in 1994, in particular during the last few months of the year.

In spite of our regression, the absolute scale of the economy's reduction in 1994 was less than that in previous years—by a factor of 2.5-3.0.

From September, the exchange rate of the coupon began to improve and its sphere of circulation expand.

The trend toward an increase in calorie consumption per head of population has been observed. At the same time, bread and other low-cost products account for a very large proportion of calories consumed.

Production

Last year, according to preliminary estimates, gross output in the country declined by 30 percent and amounted to 11,645.5 billion coupons according to 1993 prices.

It was particularly difficult to supply branches of the national economy and the population with fuel and power resources. Last year, we produced 6.8 billion kwh of electricity, which amounts to 68.8 percent of the level in 1993 and 47.9 percent of that in 1990. In 1994, the population was supplied with 2.6 billion kwh of electricity, which was almost the same as in 1993.

As a result of our not receiving information from a number of regions in the republic on the work of industrial enterprises, the figures for 1994 are not complete. Therefore, last year's figures for the republic have been estimated.

Gross output in January-December 1994 amounted to 230.9 trillion coupons according to current prices. On the territorial scale, output fell by 391.9 trillion coupons, or 39.7 percent according to comparable prices for 1993. The level for 1994 was achieved as early as in 1958 and, in comparison with the best year (1989), output amounted to 16-17 percent.

Last year, 311 industrial enterprises located on the republic's territory (excluding the region of Abkhazia) did not function. In 1994, compared with 1993, the volume of consumer goods produced fell by 51.9 percent, including food products by 67.3 percent, non-food products by 38.4 percent, light industrial goods by 30 percent, and wine and vodka products by 38.2 percent.

In 1994, compared with the previous year, in the state economy, there was a sharp reduction in livestock output, productivity, and population. The yield per cow and buffalo in milk fell by 17 percent and amounted to 495 kg. There was a reduction in the cattle population by 20 percent; it totalled 93,900.

The commission of supplying the state with grain crops in 1994 was fulfilled by only 3 percent; vegetables by 2 percent; grapes by 7 percent; high-quality tea leaves by 20 percent; wool by 0.4 percent.

Last year, the state did not receive any grain crops from 25 rayon farms; it did not receive any potatoes from a single farm in potato-producing rayons; vegetables from 21 rayon farms; fruit from a single rayon farm; grapes from 23 rayon farms; cattle and poultry from 25 rayon farms; milk from 33 rayon farms; eggs from 10 rayon farms; and in the case of wool, four rayon farms delivered only 6.2 metric tons to the state.

Stagnation prevails to this day in the republic's construction complex. Last year, as in 1993, the republic's construction workers had to work in conditions of a sharp deficit of financial and material resources.

On account of a whole number of reasons, it was not possible to mobilize to the full funds to finance capital construction and attract foreign investment. Houses, schools, health protection, municipal, cultural and communal, power, and other vitally important facilities remained without financing and no funds were provided for the reconstruction of houses damaged and destroyed by natural disasters.

During the course of the year, not a single important production capacity and facility was brought into operation in the republic.

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In 1994, the number of apartments privatized from the state, social, and house construction cooperatives' housing fund amounted to approximately 80,000 (in 1993, 237,800 apartments were privatized). Since the beginning of the privatization process (1989), approximately 64 percent (503,400) of apartments in the republic have been privatized.

The privatization of state property continued last year. Of the 7,738 facilities approved by the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, 2,160 (27 percent) had been privatized by 1 January 1995 along with 1,105 economically viable motor transport facilities.

There were 1,046 enterprises in the republic that were due to be transformed into joint-stock companies. By 1 January 1995, only 480 state enterprises had been transformed into joint-stock companies, which amounts to 45.9 percent of the total number. Today, 907 privatized facilities (42 percent of all those privatized) and 313 enterprises transformed into joint-stock companies (65.2 percent of all those transformed) are functioning.

The Social Sphere

As of 1 January 1995, the population of the republic (according to a preliminary assessment) amounted to 5.4074 million, which was 22,000 less than the figure for the previous year. The fall in the republic's population is continuing, which is conditioned by both a rise in the migrational flow and a decrease in natural growth. This is accounted for not only by a drop in the birthrate, but also by an increase in the death rate.

It is particularly alarming that the birthrate among the Georgian population is lower than the average republican birthrate by a factor of almost 1.5. Georgia is today already facing a demographic crisis. The infant mortality figure is four times higher than the level in the world's leading countries. Each year, the population structure by sex and age is deteriorating on account of the reduction in the proportion of young people to the "aging" population. Between 1974 and 1994, the proportion of 16-year olds dropped from 32 to 24 percent. The average age of the population in Georgia is higher than that in Azerbaijan by 6.3 years and in Armenia by 4.5 years.

Georgia's demographic situation is closely connected with current socioeconomic processes in the country and with the population's general level of prosperity. The prolonged economic crisis and the significant drop in people's standard of living are creating a serious threat not only for the growth of the population, but also for maintaining the level reached at the beginning of the 1990's.

According to preliminary figures, the average annual number of people who are economically active in the republic totalled 2.0 million in 1994, (which is 38 percent of the country's population) of whom 1.9 million were employed in various branches of the economy, whereas the number of people officially registered as unemployed but actively looking for work amounted to 70,000 or 4 percent. There is hidden unemployment that has manifested itself in particular in many industrial and construction enterprises.

In spite of the permanent increase in wages, their increase last year significantly lagged behind the rise in consumer market prices, as a result of which their real purchasing ability fell by 22 percent. The process of the redistribution of incomes and property continued, which was accompanied by a deterioration in the material situation of the overwhelming majority of the population. The number of those whose situation had deteriorated over the last three to four years exceeded by a factor of 13 and more those whose situation had improved. During this period, approximately 4 percent had improved their situation, 72 percent had seen a deterioration in their situation, while for more than 23 percent there had been no change.

There has been a considerable change in the structure of expenditure. If, before, approximately one-half of a person's income had been spent on food, now more than 70 percent of it goes on food. According to the amount spent on food, the poverty level stands at 83 percent (For comparison: According to calculations based on this criterion, at the beginning of 1992, 72 percent of the population were living below the poverty line while, at the beginning of 1993, this figure was 86 percent).

The state system of social protection has almost totally lost its relevance today. Moreover, those tiny resources that were allocated for this purpose from the republican and local budget are being spent in an extremely ineffective manner. At best, social benefits are being distributed equally between rich and poor.

The recent increase in the minimum wage and social benefits, in spite of the strengthening of the coupon, is completely unable to compensate for the losses incurred by the needy following the increase in the prices of bread and other essential goods.

As of 1 January 1995, according to information received from 39 rayons, the number of people who are the most socially unprotected amounts to 231,000, of whom 89 percent are nonworking pensioners and 11 percent mothers of large families and single mothers.

Apart from benefits that have been received from state channels and goods that have been purchased with credit, approximately 35,000 metric tons of food have been allocated by the representations of more than 10 international nongovernmental organizations operating in Georgia (the Red Cross, the Salvation Army, the World Food Program, and so forth) to the republic's most socially unprotected people—refugees, the elderly, and large families; taking into account consumption norms, this is equivalent to the annual normative consumption for 45,000-50,000 people.

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Foreign Economic Relations

The specific economic characteristics of the transitional period have had a significant influence on the development of the country's foreign economic relations.

Proceeding from the trends arising from the deficit in the balance of payments and the dynamics of the GDP indicators, according to preliminary assessments, the balance of payments deficit last year exceeded $400 million and amounted to 25 percent of GDP, which is one of the highest figures during the last 10 years (In 1992, it equalled 32 percent).

The situation regarding balance of payments is basically determined by the foreign trade balance, whose situation, as a result of deplorable trends in the functioning of production, is conditioned by spontaneous foreign trade relations mainly in the private sector.

The volume of imported goods and humanitarian aid resulting from the deficit in energy resources and a consumer market continue to remain the determining factor as far as the republic's export-import balance is concerned. To all intents and purposes, 97 percent of the republic's negative foreign trade balance is conditioned by the import of energy resources and humanitarian aid. At the same time, as far as the remaining goods are concerned, this balance is basically positive.

Certain Basic Indicators Concerning the Country's Economic Situation

	1994 compared with 1993 expressed as a percentage	Year when 1994 level was first reached	Year when maximum figure reached	1994 level as percentage of maximum figure
Produced national income:				
Total	68.5	1961	1988	16.9
Per head of population	68.7	1960	1988	17.0
Productivity of social labor	71.5	1961	1988	23.1
Gross industrial output	60.1	1958	1989	16-17
Production:				
electricity	68.8	1968	1989	43.3
steel	50.0	1950	1977	7.5
canned goods	28.1	1938	1988	1.2
manganese ore	79.5	—	1956	1.0
cement	31.4	1948	1977	1.4
mineral water	25.1	1942	1977	1.4
natural tea	46.4	—	1989	4.5
Gross agricultural				
output	80	1945	1986	23.0
Centralized capital investments	90	1959	1988	14.6
Freight carried by rail transport	51.3	1940	1985	6.8

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Estonia

Russian Citizen Declared Persona Non Grata

LD2203201995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1808 GMT 22 Mar 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Maloveryan]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn March 22 TASS—A Russian citizen with a permanent domicile in Estonia today received an order to leave the republic's territory within 24 hours.

The citizen in question is Petr Rozhok, the leader of the Tallinn-based Organisation of the Union of Russian Citizens and self-styled representative of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia in Estonia, the Estonian news agency reported citing a local sources.

The order came from the migration and citizenship department. According to its general director Ene Rebane, the decision had been made because Petr Rozhok had for a long time "acted in a way that can be characterized as subversive activity directed against the constitutional system and territorial integrity of the Estonian Republic. He actually tried to counteract the process of full restoration of the state system of the Estonian Republic".

The Embassy of the Russian Federation and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Estonia are now screening the case.

Zhirinovskiy Seeks Retaliation For Rozhok Expulsion

LD2203171095 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1500 GMT 22 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] The Estonian authorities intend to expel Petr Rozhok, representative of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party [LDPR], for engaging in unlawful activities. [passage omitted]

The security police had applied to the Citizenship and Immigration Department for Rozhok's expulsion, having monitored for years the activities of the Estonian representative of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. The security police's press representative explained to the Baltic News Service [BNS] that having served an order on Rozhok, it is hoped that he will leave the country voluntarily. If Rozhok fails to leave the country by tomorrow, police help could be used to expel him, he said.

The press representative said that although Rozhok's expulsion would serve as a precedent in Estonia since the country has regained independence, there are lawful grounds for this move. The expulsion order was served under the law on foreigners.

LDPR leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy told BNS as he commented on the decision of Estonian authorities that he would request the Russian Foreign Ministry to expel an Estonian from Russia in return.

Foreign Minister: Border Dispute Can Be Solved

WS2303104795 Tallinn ETA in English 1736 GMT 22 Mar 95

["News Release"]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] An agreement between Estonia and Russia settling the border dispute can be concluded in 1995 already, Estonian Foreign Minister Juri Luik told a news conference on March 22. The minister returned from Paris, where he signed the European Stability Pact for Estonia. The minister referred to the attitude of participants of the Estonian-Russian talks, consultations held hitherto and the international attention paid to the problem as premises for the early agreement. Luik added that Russia is interested in solving the problem and it will not link the issue to that of the Russian population in Estonia. The border issue has been stressed by several participants of the Balladur Pact negotiations, including French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe.

Estonia proceeds in the border issue from the 1920 Tartu Peace Treaty, according to which the areas behind the Narva river and the town of Petseri belonged to Estonia. Russia, however, holds to the border line established unilaterally in 1944-1945 during the occupation of Estonia by Soviet forces.

Names of Riigkogu Members Listed

LD2203214995 Tallinn ESTONIA TODAY in English 1827 GMT 20 Mar 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text]

New Members of the Riigkogu March 1995 National Elections

This info sheet lists the names and the electoral union or list of those who have a seat in the new Riigikogu elected on 5 March 1995. The members of the Riigikogu, however, will change as members leave their seats to take up positions in the new Government.

Unlike Westminster systems members of the Government do not have to be members of the Riigikogu. In fact members of the Riigikogu who become members of the Government must vacate their seats in the parliament. The vacated seat will be filled by the next candidate from the same electoral list who has the next highest compensation mandate number or the so-called substitution member. If a member returns from the Government he or she will resume their seat and the substitution member will step out of the Riigikogu.
The new Riigikogu will meet for the first time on the 21 March.
Coalition Party and Rural Union - KMU
Estonian Coalition Party - EK

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Estonian Rural Union - EMU
Estonian Country People's Party - EMRE
Estonian Pensioners' and Families' League - EPPL
Farmer's Assembly - PK
1. Tiit Vahi - Chairman Coalition Party
2. Arnold Ruutel - Chairman Rural Union
3. Juhan Aare
4. Toomas Alatalu
5. Jaak Allik
6. Lembitr Arro
7. Endel Eero
8. Vahur Glaase
9. Rein Jarlik
10. Ants Jarvesaar
11. Ants Kaarma
12. Raivo Kallas
13. Rein Kask
14. Mart Kubo
15. Tonu-Reid Kukk
16. Ando Leps
17. Endel Lippmaa
18. Peeter Lorents
19. Harald Magi
20. Ilmar Mandmets
21. Jaanus Mannik
22. Talvi Marja
23. Mati Meos
24. Aavo Molder
25. Villu Muuripeal
26. Andrus Oovel
27. Eldur Parder
28. Ulo Peets
29. Jaan Poor
30. Villu Reiljan
31. Mart Siimann
32. Arvo Sirendi
33. Eino Tamm
34. Juhan Telgmaa
35. Olev Toomet
36. Mai Treial
37. Elmar Truu
38. Raoul Uksvarav
39. Ulo Uluots
40. Andres Varik
41. Ulo Vooglaid
Estonian Reform Party-Liberals
1. Siim Kallas - Chairman
2. Ignar Fjuk
3. Igor Grazin
4. Tiit Kabin
5. Kaljo Kiisk
6. Valve Kirsipuu
7. Heiki Kranich
8. Kalev Kukk
9. Jurgen Ligi
10. Daimar Liiv
11. Andres Lipstok
12. Uno Mereste
13. Aap Neljas
14. Kristiina Ojuland
15. Paul-Eerik Rummo
16. Toomas Savi
17. Andres Taimla
18. Feliks Undusk
19. Toomas Vilosius
Estonian Centre Party - K
1. Savisaar Edgar - Chairman
2. Priit Aimla
3. Olav Anton
4. Arvo Haug
5. Arvo Junti
6. Rein Karemae
7. Krista Kilvet
8. Tonu Korda
9. Anti Liiv
10. Tiit Made
11. Siiri Oviir
12. Valve Raudnask
13. Aino Runge
14. Liina Tonisson
15. Mart Ummelas
16. Andra Veidemann
Pro Patria and ERSP Union
National Coalition Party "Pro Patria"
Estonian National Independence Party
1. Mart Laar - Chairman Pro Patria
2. Kelam Tunne - Chairman ERSP
3. Juri Adams
4. Toivo Jurgenson
5. Jaanus Betlem
6. Tonis Lukas
7. Lauri Vahtre
8. Tiit Sinissaar
Our Home is Estonia! - MKOE
Estonian United People's Party
The Russian Party in Estonia
1. Viktor Andrejev - Chairman - EUPP
2. Sergei Issakov
3. Sergei Ivanov
4. Nikolai Maspanov
5. Igor Sedaev
6. Valentin Strukov
MODERATES -M
Estonian Social Democratic Party
Estonian Rural Centre Party
1. Eiki Nestor - Chairman ESDP
2. Vambo Kaal - Chairman ERCP
3. Liia Haani
4. Raivo Paavo
5. Mihkel Parnoja
6. Andres Tarand
Right Wingers - W
1. Ulo Nugis - Chairman
2. Vootele Hansen
3. Karin Jaani
4. Kaido Kama
5. Enn Tarto

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Parliamentary Group Formed; Vahi Named Chairman

LD2303111995 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 23 Mar 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The following Riigikogu groups—the Party of Consolidation, the Rural Union, the Pensioners' and Families' Union, and the Rural People's Party and Farmers' Assembly—have amalgamated into an association under the name of the pact of the Party of Consolidation and Rural People's Party. The Riigikogu press service told BNS that the chairman of the association formed today is Tiit Vahi.

Latvia

Gailis, Estonia's Tarand Discuss Sea Border

WS2203140595 Riga DIENA in Latvian 15 Mar 95 p 1

[Report by Janis Kulmanis: "Latvia and Estonia Decide To Define the Sea Border"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Riga, 14 Mar—On Monday [13 March] in Tallinn, Latvian Prime Minister Maris Gailis succeeded in signing a protocol of intentions, which foresees that negotiations on the Latvian-Estonian sea border and economic zones will be renewed, and a respective agreement drafted in the near future.

The protocol was signed with the aim of avoiding incidents which would have a negative impact on future talks between Latvia and Estonia on defining the sea borders and economic zones of both states. As is known, there have been cases of Latvian fishing boats being detained by Estonians, who considered their territorial waters as having been violated.

According to the protocol, a draft agreement will be worked out by the end of March, which will define the area in which the border guards of both sides will allow Latvian and Estonian fishermen to operate. Until the agreement is signed, Estonian border guards will not detain Latvian fishing boats, whereas Latvian fishermen will refrain from entering the disputed area.

The agreement should comply with the standards of international law in the field of defining territorial maritime zones, states the protocol signed by Gailis and Estonian Prime Minister Andres Tarand.

Riga Special Tasks Militia Unit Said Moved to Moscow

WS2103113795 Riga DIENA in Latvian 9 Mar 95 p 1

[Report by Anita Matisone in Moscow: "Former Riga OMON Relocated to Moscow"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Riga, 8 Mar—According to Mikhail Berger, deputy commander of the Russian 14th Army stationed in the Trans-Dniester Republic, soldiers of the former Riga Militia Unit for Special Tasks [OMON] were transferred from Tiraspol to Moscow last week.

"Something will be going on in Moscow in the near future. Some kind of action is being planned for 18-20 March. Several OMON soldiers have said they have received $400 and that they are to be billeted in 'dachas' in the Moscow suburbs. All of them have received false names and false passports," Berger announced today in an interview with the "Ekho Moskvy" radio station.

According to him, the operation is being coordinated by Mikhail Shevcov, security minister in the Trans-Dniester Republic, whose real name is Mikhail Antyufeyev, and who formerly was chief of the Riga division of OMON, appointed in Latvia by Moscow. Members of the Riga OMON, armed with weapons and special communications equipment, silently disappear from Tiraspol and show up in Moscow, joining the supporters of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy and Sergey Barkashov.

As early October 1993, the leaders of the Trans-Dniester Republic were accused of transferring organized armed bands to Moscow. During that period, the former Riga OMON members, under the leadership of Aleksandr Rutskoy, protected the Russian parliament building against President Boris Yeltsin's efforts to seize it. According to unverified information, the joint activities of the Riga OMON members and the military units of Barkashov in guarding the White House at that time ended in tragedy—with gun battles and several people killed.

Taking into account the bad opinions of the OMON units, as well as the unstable political situation in Moscow brought on by the murder of the well-known journalist Vladislav Listyev, the news about the arrival of the unit from Tiraspol, presently headed by Cheslav Mlinnik, was received with considerable nervousness. The Federal Counterintelligence Service has begun to check on this information.

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